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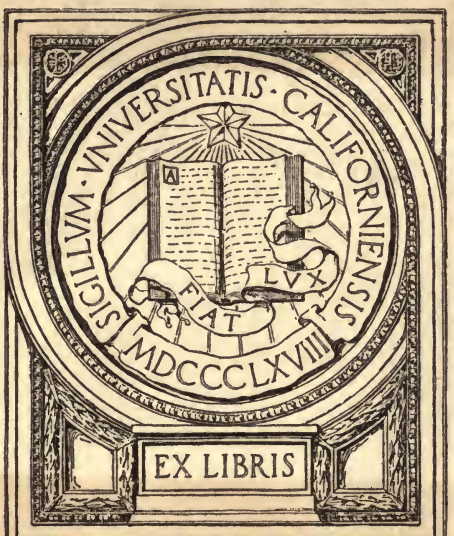

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The Great Masters
in Painting and Sculpture
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MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

THE GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

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Moses.

From the Statue in the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

BY

LORD RONALD SUTHERLAND GOWER, F.S.A.

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PREFACE

TO write worthily of so supreme a world-genius as was Michael Angelo is given to few. But to one who, since his earliest appreciation for what is greatest in art, has ever revered that mighty master, it may be allowed to add a tribute of homage by this little monograph to Michael Angelo Buonarroti.

If further preface is needed, I perhaps cannot do better than give the following words written to me by the veteran artist, G. F. Watts, R.A., O.M., on returning the proofs which he had kindly read.

RONALD SUTHERLAND GOWER.

"July 24, 1903.

"My only disagreement with you would be in the estimate of his comparative excellence in sculpture and painting. He called himself sculptor, but we seldom gauge rightly our own strength and weakness. The paintings in the Sistine Chapel are to my mind entirely beyond criticism or praise, not merely with reference to design and execution, but also for colour, right noble and perfect in their place. I was never more surprised than by this quality, to which I do not think justice has ever been done; nothing in his sculpture comes near to the perfection of his Adam or the majesty of the Dividing the light from

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darkness; his sculpture lacks the serene strength that is found in the Adam and many other figures in the great frescoes. Dominated by the fierce spirit of Dante he was less influenced by the grave dignity of Greek philosophy and art than might have been expected from the contemporary and possible pupil of Poliziano. In my estimate of him as a Sculptor in comparison with him as Painter I am likely to be in a minority of one! but *I* think that when he is thought of as a painter his earlier pictures are thought of, and these certainly are unworthy of him, but the Prophets and Sibyls are the greatest things ever painted. As a rule he certainly insists too much upon the anatomy; some one said admirably, 'Learn anatomy, and forget it'; Michael Angelo did the first and not the second, and the fault of almost all his work is, that it is too much an anatomical essay. The David is an example of this, besides being very faulty in proportion, with hands and feet that are monstrous. It is, I think, altogether bad. The hesitating pose is good and goes with the sullen expression of the face, but is not that of the ardent heroic boy!

"This seems presumptuous criticism; and you might, considering my aspirations and efforts, say to me, 'Do better!' but I am not Michael Angelo, but I am a pupil of the greatest sculptor of all, Pheidias (a master the great Florentine knew nothing of), and so far, feel a right to set up judgement on the technique only."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	List of Illustrations	ix
	Short Bibliography	xi
I.	Early Years	1
II.	The Tomb of Julius	20
III.	Later Years	28
IV.	Michael Angelo as Sculptor	43
V.	Michael Angelo as Painter	58
VI.	Michael Angelo as Architect	75
VII.	Michael Angelo as Draughtsman	81
VIII.	Michael Angelo as Poet	90
IX.	Contemporary Portraits of Michael Angelo in Sculpture and Painting	96
X.	The Influence of Michael Angelo	104
	Catalogue of the Works of Michael Angelo:	
	Paintings	107
	Drawings and Sculpture	108
	Drawings by Michael Angelo: The British Museum	113
	Index	129

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	TO FACE PAGE
Moses . . . . . *San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome*	*Frontispiece*
Michael Angelo Buonarroti . *Museum of the Capitol, Rome*	1
Marble Mask of a Faun. Attributed to Michael Angelo *Bargello Museum, Florence*	6
Marble Statuette of an Angel *Church of San Domenico, Bologna*	8
David . . . . . *Accademia, Florence*	12
The Deposition. From the bas-relief in marble *Bargello Museum, Florence*	14
Tomb of Julius II. . . . . *San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome*	20
Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence	30
Night . . . . . *Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence*	30
Madonna and Child . . . *Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence*	32
Michael Angelo's Tomb. Designed by Vasari *Santa Croce, Florence*	38
Bronze Bust of Michael Angelo. *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*	40
Madonna and Child. Marble bas-relief *Casa Buonarroti, Florence*	42
Combat between Centaurs and Lapithae. Marble bas-relief *Casa Buonarroti, Florence*	42
Marble Statue of St. John the Baptist. Attributed to Michael Angelo . . . . . *Accademia, Florence*	46
Pietà. From a cast of the original at St. Peter's, Rome . .	46
Head of David . . . . . *Accademia, Florence*	48
The Dying Adonis . . . . *Bargello Museum, Florence*	50
Wax model for Statue of Guiliano de' Medici *National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh*	50

TO FACE PAGE

Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici . . . *San Lorenzo, Florence* 52
Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici . . . *San Lorenzo, Florence* 52
Pietà . . . . . *Cathedral, Florence* 56
Madonna and Infant Christ, St. John the Baptist and Angels *National Gallery, London* 58
The "Doni" Madonna . . . . . *Uffizi Gallery, Florence* 60
The Entombment of our Lord. Attributed to Michael Angelo *National Gallery, London* 60
Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel 62
The Erythrean Sibyl . . . . . *Sistine Chapel, Rome* 64
The Cumaean Sibyl . . . . . *Sistine Chapel, Rome* 64
The Creation of the Sun and Moon . *Sistine Chapel, Rome* 66
The Last Judgement . . . . . *Sistine Chapel, Rome* 68
The Three Fates. Attributed to Michael Angelo *Pitti Gallery, Florence* 74
Interior of the Cupola of St. Peter's, Rome 76
The Laurentian Library, Florence 78
Descent from the Cross. Study in black chalk. Formerly in the Warwick Castle Collection . . *British Museum* 82
Anatomical Study . . . . . *British Museum* 82
Study in pen and bistre. From the Malcolm Collection *British Museum* 84
Study in red chalk for the figure of Lazarus in Sebastiano del Piombo's painting in the National Gallery *British Museum* 84
Study, apparently for the fresco of the Creation of Adam in the Sistine Chapel. Drawn in black chalk. From the Malcolm Collection . . . . . *British Museum* 86
Study for the figure of Christ, in a composition of the Resurrection. Black chalk. From the Malcolm Collection *British Museum* 86
Medal of Michael Angelo by Leone . . *British Museum* 98

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT IN THE MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL, ROME

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

A SADDER life than that of the subject of this little volume it would be hard to find in the history of the great in art. Except for four years, between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, Michael Angelo's days were sad, stern, and lonely. In temperament he belonged to the melancholic type, and this melancholic tendency was no doubt developed and increased by the treatment of his father and brothers. He had a warm and tender heart, and showed them much devotion, but their lack of response to his affection embittered him, and the savage letters in which he upbraids both his father and his brothers for their ingratitude to him are only too clearly indicative of the bitterness of his spirit. There are few "human documents" to compare in sadness with Michael Angelo's correspondence, unless it be the journals of Thomas Carlyle.

Rough and even repellent to those who, rightly or wrongly, he thought thwarted him in his work, or interfered with his projects, he could be as gentle as a child with those whom he regarded as his true friends. Throughout his long life this great but unhappy man appears to

MICHAEL ANGELO

have considered himself ill-used and ill-treated; certainly his treatment in the matter of his greatest commission in sculpture work—the tomb of Julius II., on which he spent the best forty years of his life—justified him in this belief; of this more hereafter.

In the little town of Caprese, about forty-seven miles south-east of Florence, in the country of the Casentino, where the Arno and the Tiber have their watershed, was born on the 6th of March, 1475, the second son of Lodovico and Francesca Simoni. The beauty of the scene—the stately limestone mountain of La Vernia and its old oaks, under which the tragic figure of Dante had wandered when an exile from Florence, all combined to make this a fitting spot for the birth of the great Buonarroti. Few places in all the pleasant land of Italy could have been more appropriate.

Both Vasari and Condivi, Michael Angelo's friend and biographer, agree as to the date of his birth, and as there still exists an entry made by his father in his note-book, giving not only the date and day, but the hour—"four or five hours before daybreak"—we can rest satisfied upon that point. Two days later the infant was baptised in the church of San Giovanni at Caprese, of which place, together with the neighbouring town of Chiusi, the father of Michael Angelo was podestà or mayor, an office held for six months. The name of Buonarroti, to be made so illustrious by the child Michael Angelo, only became a patronymic in the descendants of one of his brothers. It had been previously used more as a Christian name than as a surname by the Simonis, who bore the same name, but not the same arms, as the great house of Canossa, to whom Michael Angelo believed

himself to be related. This relationship has been disputed by those learned in such matters, but whether he was related to the family of Canossa or not, the name of Michael Angelo is sufficiently illustrious to stand in no need of consanguinity with either king or emperor.

Nothing is known regarding Michael Angelo's mother, for he scarcely ever alludes to her in his letters, beyond the fact that she was the daughter of Neri di Miniato del Sera and of Bonda Rucellai, and that when she gave birth to her illustrious son she was nineteen years of age.

When, shortly after the birth of Michael Angelo, the father's mayoralty came to an end, he left Caprese with his family and took up his abode in the old nest of the Simoni family at Settignano, some three miles out of Florence. Here little Michael Angelo was put out to nurse with the wife of a stone-cutter. Vasari, in his life of the master, recounts that one day Michael Angelo said to him that if he had any good in him it was owing to his having been born in the keen air of Arezzo, "and perhaps also from the fact that with the milk of my nurse I sucked in the chisels and hammers wherewith I made my figures." Michael Angelo's home at Settignano still exists, although much altered, but the drawing of the head of a satyr, said to have been the work of the infant prodigy, has long since disappeared.

When old enough Michael Angelo was sent to a school in Florence kept by one Francesco da Urbino. In after days he lamented that he had not acquired Latin at school, but as he was for ever drawing, this is not surprising. He appears to have had a rough time at home, where his father and elder brother by blows and harsh treatment tried to beat the love of drawing out of the lad,

but it was in vain, so strongly inherent was the passion, and, finding their ill-usage of no avail, they reluctantly consented that Michael Angelo should become an artist. He was accordingly sent to the workshop or studio of the painter Domenico Ghirlandajo. Vasari gives the terms of the agreement drawn up between the father of Michael Angelo and the painter, an agreement dated the 1st of April, 1488, when Michael Angelo was in his fourteenth year. The lad was to remain for three years under Ghirlandajo in order to acquire the art of painting. A singular arrangement in the business was that the master and not the pupil paid the money, for Ghirlandajo agreed to pay Michael Angelo six florins a month during the first year, eight florins a month during the second, and ten florins a month during the third year, thus reversing the usual arrangement between teacher and pupil, and showing that even when only fourteen years old Michael Angelo already had shown artistic ability of an unusual order.

Ghirlandajo's splendid frescoes to which the artist devoted four years of labour, still remain in little diminished freshness in the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. Vasari calls Ghirlandajo "the delight of the age in which he lived." His early death in 1494 was regarded by the Florentines as a calamity, and he was honoured with a public funeral, being laid in the church which he had done so much to beautify.

Before the expiration of the three years during which Michael Angelo was to remain with Ghirlandajo, we find that he had left his master and was studying antique sculpture with other young artists in the gardens of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Whether Ghirlandajo had

become jealous of his pupil's talents has not been made clear, but it is probable, for it is the old tale of trouble between master and pupil from the days of the early Italian masters down to Hudson and Reynolds; and doubtless it is ever recurring among artists, as jealousy forms part of the nature of the human animal. Vasari says, in his life of Michael Angelo, that, on seeing one of his pupil's drawings, Ghirlandajo exclaimed, "This boy knows more than I do!" And this was certainly the case; there is nothing in Michael Angelo's work which recalls his master's influence, nor have his rare paintings in oil any suggestion of Ghirlandajo's manner.

No trace remains of the famous garden on the banks of the Arno in which Michael Angelo passed the few happy years of his life. They were destroyed in 1495 by the Florentine rabble. These gardens stretched along the riverside; part of their site is now marked by the Casino Mediceo, a palace built in 1576 by Buontalenti. Among other young artists whom Lorenzo admitted to his gardens and villa to study his collections of ancient marbles, was Michael Angelo's friend, young Francesco Granacci. These days in Lorenzo's beautiful garden were the one bright period in a long life of storm and trouble, for, as has already been said, Michael Angelo's nature was of the tragic type, seeing the world for ever in shadow: nor indeed could any but such a mind conceive and carry out the stupendous fresco of *The Last Judgement*, in all its gloomy terror, on the great wall of the Sistine.

Lorenzo's attention appears to have been first drawn to Michael Angelo by seeing him copying the mask of a satyr out of a piece of marble. So struck was the

Medici by the originality of this mask that he forthwith invited Michael Angelo to become one of his household, giving him a room in his house and a place at his table; in short, treating him as one of his family. In the art of marble cutting and modelling the sculptor Bertoldo, a pupil of Donatello, had given Michael Angelo instruction, and strongly imbued with Donatello's manner as was Bertoldo, his influence on the earlier sculpture of Michael Angelo is unmistakeable.

It is easy to realize the charm of the life led by Michael Angelo and his brother students under the parental roof of Lorenzo. Not only had they the best models of antiquity then known to work from and study, as well as excellent instruction; but they met on a footing of equality some of the most brilliant men in Italy of that time. They could listen to the learned discourses of such masters of the classics as Pico della Mirandola and Angelo Poliziani; of Luigi Pulci, the young poet; and Piloto, the goldsmith, who loved to recite his poems on summer nights in the streets and gardens of the city of Florence. It was a time when Florence resembled a resuscitated Athens in the days of its glory between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, for all that was most gifted in the Peninsula helped to create that great revival of the arts, manners, and literature, known as the Renaissance.

Dark and doleful for Michael Angelo were the days which followed the happy time under the protection of Lorenzo, full of trouble, and of constant disappointment. The first work of originality and conspicuous ability executed by Buonarotti is said to have been suggested by Poliziano, a friend of Lorenzo, and the learned author of

Anderson photo] [*Bargello Museum, Florence*

MARBLE MASK OF A FAUN

ATTRIBUTED TO MICHAEL ANGELO

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the "Stanze" and the "Orfeo." This was a marble bas-relief representing the *Combat between Centaurs and Lapithae*, or *Rape of Deianira*, as it used to be called. Michael Angelo never parted with this rilievo, and together with two or three others it is still to be seen in the Casa Buonarroti. A more satisfactory work is a somewhat unfinished bas-relief of a Madonna, in which the head is seen in profile, much in the manner of Donatello.

It was at this time that the fray between Michael Angelo and his fellow-pupil, Torrigiano, occurred. They, with some other students, had been engaged in copying the frescoes by Masaccio in the Church of the Carmine; and Benvenuto Cellini gives the following account of the quarrel in his autobiography. "When we were young," Torrigiano said to Cellini, "this Buonarroti used to go and work in the Chapel of Masaccio in the Carmine, and it was Buonarroti's habit to chaff all those who were drawing there; one day he aggravated me so greatly that I became more angry than usual, and closing my fist I gave him so mighty a blow that I felt the bone and cartilage smash beneath, and as long as he lives [this conversation took place in 1518] he will bear the mark." Such a brutal attack—for Michael Angelo was half-killed by the blow, and was borne from the Carmine stunned and insensible—so incensed Lorenzo that he banished Torrigiano from Florence.

Besides Torrigiano and Granacci, among Michael Angelo's fellow-pupils who became afterwards famous, there were Rustici, Baccio da Montelupo, and Andrea Sansovino, sculptors, and the painters, Lorenzo di Credi and Bugiardini.

On the 8th of April, 1492, Lorenzo the Magnificent died, and in him Michael Angelo lost more than a father. From that day one of the greatest artistic geniuses that has existed led a life of almost sordid drudgery. Not that the patrons of art were to blame; many art-loving Italian potentates and foreign sovereigns, such as Francis I. of France, were all eager to have works by his hand, but owing to the great artist's idiosyncrasy, ever brooding over what might have been accomplished, and over the limitations of even his mighty talent, he became more and more soured, till at length, in his desolate old age, he sketched himself as a senile child in a go-cart, to show that here below all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

With the death of Lorenzo, too, the splendour of the Italian Renaissance faded away. Michael Angelo now returned to his father's house, where for about a year he worked strenuously at anatomy, studying with feverish intensity every muscle, bone, ligament and tendon of the human body, thus qualifying himself for his future labours, as we see in numberless figures displayed in every conceivable, and, for that matter, every inconceivable attitude, in those stupendous frescoes on the ceiling and walls of the Sistine Chapel. There is at Oxford a gruesome drawing by Michael Angelo, showing two men dissecting a body in which a candle is stuck; one of these men is supposed to be the artist himself studying a "subject."

Whilst living at his father's house Michael Angelo made a statue in marble of a Hercules which, when completed, excited much admiration, but, unfortunately, this is one of the many works of the master that have been

Alinari photo] [*Church of San Domenico, Bologna*

MARBLE STATUETTE OF AN ANGEL

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lost. It found its way to France, where it was described as being in the Palace at Fontainebleau, in the reign of Louis XIII., but from that date it cannot be traced.

In Lorenzo's son and successor, Piero de' Medici, Michael Angelo found but a poor substitute for the Magnificent, and he appears not to have frequented his court. However, when, owing to his misgovernment Piero was driven out of Florence in March, 1495, Michael Angelo took alarm, fearing that his former relations with the Medici might get him into trouble, and he sought shelter first at Venice, and afterwards at Bologna. He remained a year at Bologna, where one of the city magistrates, Gianfrancesco Aldovrandi, obtained work for him on a a huge sarcophagus in the church of San Domenico, which had been commenced by Nicholas of Pisa, and continued by Nicholas of Bari; it was only completed three centuries later. Michael Angelo's share in this monument was to complete the drapery of the statue of St. Petronio which had been left unfinished by Nicholas of Bari, but the graceful little marble angel kneeling on the right of the high altar is believed to be wholly the work of the young sculptor.

At the end of a year Michael Angelo returned to Florence, where affairs had again become peaceful, but his return must have been saddened when he found the beautiful gardens, where he had passed so many happy hours in Lorenzo's day, all razed and uprooted.

During the summer of 1495, when Savonarola was all-powerful in Florence, the great chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio was re-decorated at his suggestion. Strangely enough, it was in that same room that the great friar of St. Mark's was to pass his last night on earth three years

later, ere mounting the scaffold erected outside the building. The leading artists of Florence had been consulted regarding the decoration of this municipal building, Leonardo da Vinci and the architect San Gallo, Baccio d'Agnolo, and Simone del Pollaiuolo, and as Vasari remarks, "although still so young," Michael Angelo also. A greater proof of the high honour in which the "still so young" artist was held by his countrymen than this invitation to help the great painters and architects of his town could not have been given.

A work of little importance in itself, but of importance since it led to Michael Angelo's first visit to Rome, may now be alluded to. While in Florence in the summer of 1495, Buonarroti is said to have modelled a sleeping marble Cupid, and this when finished was sent to Rome, where it was sold by a Florentine merchant as a genuine antique, and bought by Cardinal Riario. When, however, the Cupid was found to be a modern production the Cardinal returned it to the merchant, who appears to have then sold it to Cesare Borgia. Later on it belonged to Isabella, Duchess of Mantua, who obtained it through the good offices of the Cardinal d'Este. The French historian De Thou describes it as being in the Palace at Mantua, in 1573, and it is possibly the statue of a sleeping Cupid now in the Liceo of that city. When it became known by whom the Cupid had been carved Cardinal Riario invited the young sculptor to Rome.

A memorable date in the life of Michael Angelo was the 5th of June, 1496, for on that day he arrived in the Eternal City which he was destined to adorn with so many of his immortal creations in sculpture, painting and architecture. Vasari states that the first work accom-

plished by Michael Angelo in Rome was a painting of *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, but of this picture no record or trace remains. During the first year of his residence in Rome, Michael Angelo carried out the life-size marble statue of *Bacchus* which is now in the Bargello Museum at Florence; and possibly that of the *Kneeling Cupid* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, one of the most precious objects of that collection. Both of these statues were made for a Roman amateur and art patron named Galli, who appears to have given the young Florentine much encouragement.

But the most important work of Michael Angelo during his first sojourn in Rome was the marble group known to all the world as his *Pietà*, representing the Blessed Virgin supporting on her lap the dead body of our Lord. This famous group is placed in the chapel to which it gives its name, in St. Peter's. It is a truly wonderful work when it is remembered that its creator was only three and twenty. The contract for this group, which was commissioned by the Abbot of S. Denis through Jacopo Galli, bears the date of the 26th of August, 1498. When first seen, shrouded as it is by the darkness of the chapel and marred by some bronze angels which encircle the top of the monument, the *Pietà* is apt to disappoint, but a closer examination will prove to what a degree of perfection, and what a mastery of touch the young sculptor had already attained: that he thought highly of his work is proved by his having cut his name deeply into the edge of the Madonna's robe, thus: "Michaelangelus Bonarotus Floren: Faciebat." One is reminded of the great English portrait painter and enthusiastic admirer of Michael Angelo, Sir Joshua

Reynolds, inscribing his name upon the hem of the dress of his sitter, Sarah Siddons, in his portrait of her as the *Tragic Muse*. The *Pietà* excited widespread admiration when it was placed in the ancient Church of St. Peter's, and the fame of its young sculptor became firmly established. Copies in marble were made from it, and Francis I. wrote an autograph letter to Buonarroti in which he asked him to have a cast taken of his work "afin qu'il en puisse cerner l'une de ces chapelles comme de chose qu'on lui a assuré estre des plus exquises et excellentes qui soient en son art." Louis Quatorze could not himself have written a more gracious letter, or paid an artist a finer compliment.

Early in the year 1501 Michael Angelo returned to Florence by his father's wish, and in the June of that year we find him at work on some statues destined for the Cathedral of Siena. He was commissioned to do as many as fifteen statues of saints and apostles, including a statue of St. Francis commenced by Torrigiano, and as all of these were to be finished in the course of three years it is evident that his hands were full. In order to carry out these great labours Michael Angelo left Florence for Siena, but whether he fulfilled his commission is unknown. Four of the statues had been placed in position in 1504, and two years' grace was allowed him to complete the remaining eleven. But what was undoubtedly more to his taste than working on these statues of saints and apostles for the Sienese Cathedral was the colossal figure of *David*, which he commenced in 1501.

A huge block of marble which had lain in the Government workships at Florence since the year 1486, when it

Brogi photo] [*Accademia, Florence*

DAVID

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had been brought from Carrara, had, after much discussion as to its final use, been handed over to Michael Angelo to fashion into a gigantic figure, which was to be completed in the space of three years. He began to work upon it on the 13th of September, 1501, and on the 25th of January, 1504, the statue of *David* was completed. For this statue Michael Angelo received six florins in gold a month—all labour and materials being supplied—a sum equivalent to £2 6*s*. He worked on the *David* in a temporary building built of stone and wood, in some workshops behind the cathedral. A commission was appointed by the city to consider a suitable site for it, and amongst its members were some of Michael Angelo's old fellow-pupils of the days of the Medici Gardens, the names of Filippino Lippi, Sandro Botticelli, and Leonardo da Vinci also appearing on the list. After much discussion as to the site upon which the *David* should be placed, the choice was left to the sculptor, who chose the spot near the great entrance doors of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it remained for nearly four centuries. Michael Angelo may have chosen this site as an ardent patriot, for his *David*, defying the enemy, also appeared to be defending the Palace of the Florentine people. There it stood through the storms and the sunshine of the centuries, a silent witness of the turbulent history of the great city, until the year 1873, when it was removed to a special gallery that had been built for it adjoining the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts, to preserve it from the effects of the weather or possible injury, it having already been damaged by the Florentines in their revolutionary risings. A modern bronze copy of the statue has been placed in recent years on the height

of San Miniato, with other bronzes copied from the master's statues in the sacristy of San Lorenzo.

We can form some idea of Michael Angelo's method as he fashioned the huge block of marble into the form of splendid youth, during those three years of strenuous labour with chisels made and tempered by himself, from Vigenere's account of him thirty-five years later: "I have seen Michael Angelo," he writes, "although sixty years of age, and not one of the most robust of men, smite down more scales from a block of marble in a quarter of an hour, than three young marble cutters could in three or four times that span, which must seem incredible to those who have not seen it done. He flung himself upon the marble with such impetuosity and fervour, as to induce me to believe that he would break the work into fragments. With a single blow he brought down scales of marble of three or four fingers' breadth with such precision to the line marked in the marble that if he had broken away a little more he risked the ruin of his work."

Whilst working on the colossal figure of David, Michael Angelo modelled a smaller statue of the same figure—in life size—which was cast in bronze, having been commissioned by Piero Soderini. This bronze was afterwards sent to France, where, as has been the ill-fortune of others of the master's works, it was lost.

After the *David*, Michael Angelo executed a statue of *St. Matthew*, which is now in the Court of the Academy at Florence, also two circular medallions, on which he carved life-size Madonnas; but these can only be called sketches in marble, for both are unfinished. One of these is in the Museum of the Bargello at Florence, and the

Anderson photo] [*Bargello Museum, Florence*

THE DEPOSITION

FROM THE BAS-RELIEF IN MARBLE

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other is in the Diploma Gallery of the English Royal Academy.

Of the latter, a marble tondo relief of the Madonna with the infant Christ and St. John, Mr. G. F. Watts, in a letter to me of July 24th, 1903, says: "It is a thing of supreme and even pictorial beauty . . . it is quite lovely, being left with the chiselled surface, for it is incomplete according to general apprehension, but in my opinion more perfect, especially the infant Christ, which is as full of sense of colour as any Venetian picture." This tondo is supposed to have been made by Michael Angelo for Taddeo Taddei, and was obtained by the Royal Academy through the medium of Sir George Beaumont.

Between the years 1501 and 1504 Michael Angelo's works of sculpture amounted to no less than thirty-seven, but some of these were little more than sketches, and others were left in a state even more incomplete than the two Madonna reliefs already referred to. That it was a physical impossibility for one man, however superbly gifted and however laborious, to complete so large a number of works in so short a time, must be patent to all who know the great difficulty and the intense application required in the working of statuary marble. Unlike his contemporaries, Michael Angelo at this time had no pupils or assistants, and consequently every detail of his work was carried out with his own hands. Perhaps his character and manner failed to attach pupils to him; but there is no doubt that during these earlier years of his great career he worked single-handed.

In spite of this gigantic labour in sculpture, Michael Angelo, who was a glutton for work, found time to paint the well-known circular oil picture of the Holy Family

now in the Tribune of the Uffizi Gallery, and called the Doni *Madonna*, after the name of the person for whom it was painted. This is one of the very few authentic oil paintings by Michael Angelo, and few pictures have given rise to more "art criticism." The conception of the Holy Family is so entirely unlike the one usually accepted, the Madonna is so un-Madonnalike, the St. Joseph so like a stalwart peasant, and the Divine Child so like an infant Bacchus, that the painting has been the target for artistic praise and blame from the days of Michael Angelo himself down to the present time. I do not presume to pass an opinion upon such a work by such a master; but what must ever excite our admiration is the drawing of the groups of naked youths in the background. In colour the Doni *Madonna* is garish and crude, although possibly the colours have changed with time. In the National Gallery we possess two paintings, dating probably from this period of Michael Angelo's life, and attributed with much plausibility to him. One of these is a *Madonna* with children and angels, and the other an *Entombment*. The head of the Madonna certainly possesses more beauty than the sculptor was in the habit of giving to his feminine creations, and J. A. Symonds, in his life of the master, throws doubt upon the *Entombment* being from the brush of Michael Angelo. In a future chapter I shall return to this subject, and to Michael Angelo's work as a painter.

As a painter in oils Michael Angelo did not excel, and this fact gives an air of truth to the saying attributed to him that painting in oils was more suited as an occupation for women and children than for grown men.

When the great cartoon of the Battle of Anghiari by

Leonardo da Vinci—who was twenty-three years older than Michael Angelo—was hung in the Palazzo Medici at Florence, it was felt that a companion work should be placed opposite, and the commission was intrusted by Piero Soderini to Michael Angelo. Leonardo's cartoon, is now only known to us by the fine engraving of a portion of it by Edelinck after a copy by Rubens, which shows a group of men and horsemen fighting—both men and horses—round a standard. The subject chosen by Michael Angelo was an incident which took place during the hostilities between the Florentines and Pisans, when some Florentine soldiers were surprised whilst bathing by the enemy under Sir John Hawkwood. It was a subject admirably suited to his powers, and he seized the moment when the still naked warriors are hurrying on their clothes and armour, grasping their weapons, and preparing to meet the coming foe. He was now able for the first time to show his marvellous capabilities as a draughtsman by depicting every variety of attitude in the limbs and forms of these men in all their muscular vigour and force. Of this cartoon there exists no vestige. We know it only by an old copy which is at Holkham, Lord Leicester's place in Norfolk, by a drawing in the Albertina, and by a line engraving, made from a portion of the cartoon itself, by Marc Antonio Raimondi. It occupied Michael Angelo during fourteen months, and was completed in the early part of 1505. So highly was it appreciated by the Florentines that it became a practical text-book for contemporary artists, but about 1520 it disappeared; whether it was wantonly destroyed is not known. Vasari states, with little authority, that it was cut up.

Soon after his cartoon was finished Michael Angelo was invited, or rather commanded, to Rome by the new Pope, Julius II. (della Rovere). From Julius Michael Angelo received more orders for work than the whole city of Florence had ever given him, the first Papal commission being to design a huge funeral monument for the Pontiff. Julius, with the vanity and desire for self-glorification which distinguished other occupants of St. Peter's chair with whom Michael Angelo was brought in contact, wished to have made for him, while still on earth, as sumptuous and splendid a sepulchre for his bones as Christendom could provide. Certainly in some of the successors of the first Apostle the love of art was far exceeded by pride of position and birth. It was Michael Angelo's misfortune that the remainder of his life was doomed to be spent in largely ministering to the love of worldly splendour of the wearers of the triple crown, and the misery of labouring for such men saddened Michael Angelo's later years more than all the suffering he endured at the servitude of his beloved city of Florence under the heel of its rulers, deep and poignant as we know that to have been from his poems. Michael Angelo's friend and biographer, Condivi, has called the transactions over Pope Julius's tomb "The Tragedy of the Sepulchre," and John Addington Symonds, Michael Angelo's latest historian, has followed Condivi's example. The tragic element in the history of that tomb is the misery it caused the great sculptor; otherwise there is not much cause for regretting that the proud Pope did not rest after death below a pyramid of sculptured marble. The greatly reduced monument placed to his memory in the Church of San Pietro in

Vincoli is surely more than sufficient, and by the irony of fate the bones of Julius are not even near that monument, but in the vaults of St. Peter's. Comparatively few of those who visit the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, in which the *Moses* of Michael Angelo is enthroned, give more than a thought to the Pope by whom this statue, one of the noblest works of modern sculpture, was commissioned, and for whose tomb it was intended to be but one of many statues; this is one of Time's revenges.

For no less a time than forty years was Michael Angelo worried and browbeaten over this tomb of Julius. Never had a great artist better reason to complain of his hard fate, and of the stupidity and ingratitude of those by whom he was employed. The lapse of centuries between ourselves and the days when Michael Angelo worked and suffered in Rome does not prevent one feeling a sense of indignation when reading of the endless tergiversations, the countless mean shifts, the petty vexations and intentional slights which this great man suffered for two score years at the hands of succeeding Popes over this wretched business of the tomb of Julius II. The greater portion of Buonarroti's working life was, in consequence, a period of unhappiness.

CHAPTER II

THE TOMB OF JULIUS

I THINK, to judge by my own feelings, that my readers will not be ungrateful if I sum up as succinctly as possible the long and weary story of the tragedy of Julius's sepulchre. Originated in pride, the tomb of Julius was abandoned soon after its commencement by order of the Pope himself. A superstitious feeling on the part of the Pope was reported as the cause, it being rumoured that some ill-wishers of Michael Angelo's had suggested to the Pontiff that he who prepares his funeral monument in his lifetime hastens the period for its occupation. When Julius had departed this life succeeding Popes raised difficulties, and placed such obstacles in the way of its completion, that the original scheme for the most gorgeous tomb that any Pope had ever dreamt of dwindled down to the almost solitary figure of the Israelitish lawgiver, with lesser statues beside and above him, nothing save the figure of Moses and the two bound captives of the Louvre being from the hand of Buonarroti. At the outset Michael Angelo's design was approved by Julius, who sent him to Carrara to select the finest statuary marble, and only allowed the sculptor to return to the work in Rome when he had collected a whole quarry-full of material. Julius appears to have destroyed the

Alinari photo] [*San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome*

TOMB OF JULIUS II.

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ancient basilica of St. Peter's in order that he might rebuild it on a larger scale, as a more fitting receptacle for his own funeral monument, Bramante, Raphael's uncle, being appointed chief architect. Between Bramante and Michael Angelo there was no love lost, although in after years the sculptor bore witness to the excellence of the architect's original design for the new Cathedral of Christendom.

Michael Angelo spent eight months at Carrara superintending the marble cutters, the excavating, the cutting out, shaping and packing the pure white marble before it could be shipped to Rome. Whilst at Carrara he blocked out with his own hands—the term hands is used here intentionally, as Michael Angelo could work marble with his left as well as his right hand—two of the statues destined to form part of the tomb. These were probably the two figures called *The Slaves*, now in the Louvre. It was whilst he was working in the quarries that Michael Angelo had that strange wish to shape one of the promontories at Carrara, which juts out into the Mediterranean, into the form of a mighty Colossus to serve as a landmark for the guidance of mariners out at sea. From Carrara Michael Angelo paid a visit to the slate quarries of Lavagna, having previously made an arrangement with some seamen to transport thirty-four tons of marble to Rome at a cost of sixty-two golden ducats: this contract was dated the 12th of November, 1505. Before returning to Rome Michael Angelo paid a brief visit to Florence, beginning his interrupted work upon the tomb of Julius immediately he arrived in the Eternal City. Shortly afterwards the marbles he had collected at Carrara were landed and formed a huge

pile on the Piazza of St. Peter's near the Church of St. Catharine. Close to this mountain of marble the sculptor had his workshop, built on the Vatican side of the Piazza. So interested was the Pope in the earlier progress of the work upon his tomb, that he had a temporary bridge run over from the Vatican to Michael Angelo's workshop, so that he might watch the various processes of the labour. During the first three months all appeared to be going well, when a bolt fell from the blue. Michael Angelo suddenly left Rome, flying in all haste from the Papal States. No entirely satisfactory explanation of this action on the part of the sculptor has ever been given. By some it was believed that he had been insulted by the Pope or by one of his myrmidons, by others that Bramante and others of his enemies had a hand in driving him out of Rome. Whatever the cause, Michael Angelo, after giving his servants orders to sell his house and all that it contained to the Jews, mounted his horse at two o'clock in the morning and never drew rein until he was safe at Poggibonsi, on Florentine territory, and beyond the jurisdiction of Julius.

Five mounted Papal messengers galloped after our sculptor with orders from the Pope, and a letter commanding his immediate return to Rome. The messengers overtook him at Poggibonsi, but Michael Angelo refused to return, let the Pope rage and storm as he might. Julius had met his match in Buonarroti, and on the sculptor rode to Florence, giving the Pope's servants, however, the assurance that he would continue to work upon the tomb in that city. Very speedily briefs followed letters, letters followed briefs from Julius to the magistrates of Florence, in which they were commanded

to order Michael Angelo to return forthwith to Rome. But the sculptor remained firm in his determination, and declared that he had a mind to pay a visit to the Grand Turk, by whom, he said, he had been told he would be received and welcomed with every kind of honour.

In the month of November in that year Pope Julius visited Bologna, and whilst there he commanded Michael Angelo to appear before him. Probably Buonarroti thought there was no use in holding out any longer and continuing to defy the head of the Church, so putting his pride aside he set out to obey the Pope's command. When in the presence of the Pontiff Michael Angelo knelt before him and craved forgiveness: for some moments—which must have appeared long to the sculptor—Julius made no answer. But when an officious prelate, who was in attendance, showed his tactlessness by making an apology for Michael Angelo, to the effect that after all it should be remembered that artists were a kind of folk not accountable to other men for their behaviour, for they, poor creatures, knew naught outside their trade, Julius lost his temper—he was then an irascible old man of seventy-five—and seizing his stick belaboured the unlucky priest over the shoulders, and ordered him to be kicked out of the room.

The Papal rage being thus happily expended, Michael Angelo was not only immediately forgiven but taken back into favour—for a time at least. But the work on the tomb was destined to be further interrupted, Julius ordering Michael Angelo to make a colossal statue in bronze of himself, to be placed in front of the cathedral at Bologna. Buonarroti designed a seated figure of the Pope, full of character, with one hand raised. When

asked by the Pope whether he was represented in the act of blessing or cursing, Michael Angelo—who, unlike the bishop at the interview between Julius and himself, was a man of tact—answered that he had intended to represent His Holiness as admonishing the people of Bologna, who but shortly before had been in open revolt against the Pope's pretensions. "What," inquired Julius, "will you put in my other hand?" The sculptor suggested placing a book, upon which the fiery old Pontiff retorted that a sword would be more suited to his character. It ended by the keys of St. Peter being held by the hand in question. This very militant effigy of Julius II., however, had only a brief existence of four years; for the Bentivogli, who had been driven out of Bologna by the Papal party, re-took the city, and Julius in bronze, keys and all, was hurled to the ground, and broken up, reappearing in the shape of a huge cannon, which was dubbed "La Giulia" in honour of its origin. After this event Michael Angelo appears never to have returned to Bologna.

For working in bronze Buonarroti had as little liking as for painting in oils. Bronze-making, he said, did not appertain to his art, and certainly none of his scarce works that are known in that material can compare with any of his sculptures in marble.

Julius II. died on the 21st of February, 1513, and early in May of that year a new agreement, relating to his tomb, was entered into between Lorenzo Pucci, an Apostolic notary, afterwards Cardinal dei Santi-Quattro, and Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, a nephew of Julius, and Michael Angelo, the two former being charged by the newly-elected Pope to superintend the completion of

Julius's sepulchre by Buonarroti. Michael Angelo agreed to undertake no other work until he had finished the tomb, which he promised should be completed in seven years. Until then there had been no plan of reducing the size of the monument from its original design. Michael Angelo, we may think, would be anxious and willing to do all honour to the memory of Julius, for whom, in spite of all their quarrels and differences, he had a sincere admiration, and he renewed his labours on the sepulchre with feverish energy. In 1516, however, a new agreement was entered into between Michael Angelo and the two cardinals. According to this fresh arrangement it was stipulated that the tomb should be completed in 1529, and, when finished, the sculptor should receive 16,000 golden *écus*—he had already been paid 3,500 for former work upon it. Besides this sum Michael Angelo was to be given a house in Rome, near the Trevi fountain by the Church of Santa Maria di Loreto, a house which he had formerly occupied in the first years of his work upon the tomb of Julius: it was further agreed that he might continue to work upon the monument either at Florence or at Carrara if he pleased.

Thirty statues for the tomb are mentioned in this agreement, including the recumbent figure of the Pope, and one of the Madonna. In the month of November of that year, 1516, we hear of the sculptor being at Carrara, where he had gone to collect marble; but all his labour was wasted, for in the April of the following year the compact between the cardinals and himself was broken. Eight years passed by and the tomb had not advanced. There were endless disputes and quarrels which hampered the sculptor in his task.

We have now arrived at the year 1525, when it appears that Michael Angelo had given up all hope of ever completing the tomb—at any rate on the original plan—for we find him suggesting a mural monument to Julius, to be placed in St. Peter's, in the fashion of that of Pope Pius II. and Pius IV., then in the Basilica, but now the noblest monuments in the Church of S. Andrea della Valle. Buonarroti even made designs to exemplify his suggestion. Yet another seven years passed away. In the April of 1532 Duke Francis of Urbino entered into another agreement with Michael Angelo, regarding the everlasting tomb of Julius. All previous contracts were set aside, and the sculptor was required only to furnish six statues for the monument, of which number some were already in hand. He was to receive 6,000 golden ducats for the half-dozen statues, and the work was to be finished in Rome in the course of three years. Two artists were summoned from Florence to assist Michael Angelo, and, in 1542, Raffaello da Montelupo was also called in: it was by him that the two figures known as *Contemplative* and *Active Life* were made after designs by the master. A little later in the same year we hear of Buonarroti's body-servant, who was also a sculptor—Urbino, as his master called him, although his real name was Francesco degli Amadori—helping with the tomb. This was the faithful friend who died many years afterwards, full of years in Michael Angelo's service, to the latter's sorrow and lasting grief.

In the July of this same year Michael Angelo addressed a supplication to Pope Paul II. (whose private chapel he painted), in which he states that he is then unable to do more than complete the statue of Moses

upon the tomb of Julius, and the figures representing the Active and the Contemplative Life. In the following month the sculptor cast from his shoulders the terrible incubus of this nightmare of a tomb, and with it, it is to be hoped, the whole train of vexations and troubles it had brought upon him. The tomb of Julius II., as we see it now in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, was not finished until the year 1545. Gladly does one dismiss this sepulchre of Pope Julius and all the trouble it caused its great creator, and return to the year 1508.

CHAPTER III

LATER YEARS

IT was on the 10th of May, 1508, that Michael Angelo noted down that he had received fifty ducats for his painting on the ceiling of the chapel of Pope Sixtus, and for the next four years he was occupied in painting the most extraordinary creation that the brain and the hand of man had ever conceived and carried out. This was done single-handed, and under great physical difficulties, for he had none of the appliances to facilitate painting in such a position, like the so-called "reversed stool" which the French painter Jouvenot invented more than a century later when painting the ceiling of the Parliament House at Rennes. Michael Angelo's original scheme for the decoration of this huge ceiling of the Sistine Chapel appears to have only comprised a series of paintings of Apostles of colossal dimensions within the lunettes above the windows, and filling in the rest of the ceiling with an ornamental decoration: he had already begun designing the figures of the Apostles when a fresh obstacle was placed before him.

The façade of the church of San Lorenzo in Florence was still unfinished, and as it was the burial-place of the Medici family, Pope Leo X. and his brother, Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, considered that its incomplete con-

dition was derogatory to the dignity of their family. They were therefore anxious that Michael Angelo should be employed to finish the church, and to this end the architect, San Gallo, and the sculptor-architect, Sansovino, were deputed by the Pope to confer with him. As a result we find that in 1518 Michael Angelo had a studio in Florence, in the Ogni Santi quarter, sufficiently large to hold twenty unfinished statues of life size, and some bas-reliefs, apparently intended for San Lorenzo. But in a letter written by the sculptor in 1520 to Sebastiano del Piombo, he informs him that the façade had not been commenced; nor was it ever commenced, for in the following year Pope Leo died, and with him passed away the idea of completing the exterior of the church, which remains to this day with its front all bare and unsightly. During the two years that he passed at Florence, Michael Angelo seems to have felt that both the Pope and the Cardinal were trifling with him, for in one of his letters he says: "I feel quite competent (*a me basta l'animo*) to make this work of the façade of San Lorenzo, so that, both in architecture and sculpture, it shall be the mirror of all Italy; but the Pope and the Cardinal must decide quickly, if they want me to do it or not." And in another letter he writes: "What I have promised to do, I shall do by all means, and I shall make the most beautiful work that ever was made in Italy, if God help me." In later years Michael Angelo did not hesitate to declare that Pope Leo had not his heart in the undertaking of the façade, but trifled with him in order that the work upon the tomb of his predecessor might be delayed.

An interesting event took place in Florence in the

year 1519, when a circular was addressed by the Florentine Academy to Leo X., praying that a monument might be erected to the memory of Dante. To this circular Michael Angelo not only added his name, but volunteered to design the monument. I shall have an opportunity in another part of this memoir of the master to recur to the great admiration he always expressed for the "Divine Poet." One can be certain that no other writer inspired the sculptor so greatly as did Dante.

In the month of March, 1520, Michael Angelo commenced work on the tombs of the Medici in the sacristy of the Church of San Lorenzo. These were the tombs of Giuliano, brother of Leo X., and of Lorenzo, his nephew. Two years later he was at Carrara, and in a letter dated the 22nd of April, to his marble merchant, written from his lodging in the "Street of the Roughhewn Stone"—as J. A. Symonds translates the Via del Bozzo—he asks him to collect two hundred cartloads of marble destined to be used in the interior of the new sacristy attached to the church of San Lorenzo. Many alterations and modifications were made in the building, but they were not of so sweeping or destructive a character as those in the tomb of Julius II. And it is satisfactory to know that we see the Medici tombs in the setting which their creator originally designed for them.

Much has been written on the meaning of the four recumbent figures lying below the seated figures of the Dukes. That of the woman below Duke Giuliano is supposed to be symbolical of *Night*, and it was on her that the famous quatrain was written by Strozzi, a quatrain to which the sculptor replied with so much

Alinari photo]

SACRISTY, SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE

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Anderson photo] [*Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence*

NIGHT

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DEPARTMENT OF

dignity. The recumbent male figure facing that of *Night* is known as *Day*, and has all the supreme repose and godlike calm of the so-called Theseus on the pediment of the Parthenon. The companion figures below Duke Lorenzo are equally noble in their design; they have the names of *Twilight* and *Dawn*, both weary Titans, who seem to be too languid to die. Below the figures Michael Angelo inscribed:

"Night and Day speak thus and say: We have in our rapid flight brought Duke Julian to his death. It is but just that he should revenge himself. Behold his vengeance. As we have put him to death, he, dead, has deprived us of our light, his closed eyes have shut our own, which no longer shine upon the earth. What then might he not have done with us while he lived?" It is difficult to reconcile this somewhat oriental eulogy with the artist sculptor's known feeling towards the man by whom it was inspired, a man whom he regarded as a tyrant and as the enemy of his people. Michael Angelo probably only regarded the tomb of the Medici as an opportunity for creating superb symbols in marble, as he might have regarded the commission of any other prince to design a sepulchral effigy. That he cared little about handing down the features of the Dukes to posterity is shown by the reply he made to someone who found fault with him for not giving a true likeness of the two princes: "Who," he said, "will care in a thousand years whether these features resemble theirs or not?"

The noblest of the ducal figures is that of Lorenzo, which, from its thoughtful mien, has become known as the *Penseroso*. One does not need to be told that these two heads are not portraits, for they belong to that type of

manly beauty which no Medici ever possessed, and they can compare with the finest of the great sculptor's imaginary creations in a type of human being that he considered the most noble.

Besides these six figures there are in the same church other groups of statuary from the hand of Michael Angelo, of which the most important is a *Madonna and Child.* Here, too, are unfinished statues of St. Cosma and St. Damiano, patron saints of the Medici. These were designed by Michael Angelo, but carried out by his assistants, Fra Giovanni Agnolo dei Montorsoli and Raffaello da Montelupo.

Those who feel that the sacristy of San Lorenzo is bare and cold should remember that Michael Angelo's original design was that it should contain more statuary, and that the walls should be adorned with paintings. To some it will seem that this resting-place for the dead gains in solemnity by the plain white and black of its decorations. Certainly the simplicity of this sacristy is more striking than the gorgeous colour, painting, gilding, mosaic, the veneer of rare stones and marbles, the gilded statues encrusted with gems or paste, of the adjoining chapel of the Princes.

The hard work entailed by this Medicean sacristy whilst tormented about the tomb of Julius, told greatly upon Michael Angelo's health, and he probably welcomed the Papal brief which commanded him under pain of excommunication to work at nothing but the sacristy. Yet although so absolved, we know that Michael Angelo felt in honour bound to continue his labours on the tomb.

In 1529, in April, Michael Angelo had been appointed Inspector-General of the fortifications of Florence. His

Anderson photo] [*Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence*

MADONNA AND CHILD

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first care was bestowed upon the important and commanding site of San Miniato, where the tall red walls with their machicolated towers, raised by his orders, can still be seen on the hill. Besides repairing, planning and building the fortifications of his city, Michael Angelo paid rapid and frequent visits to Ferrara, Pisa, and to Venice, the objects of which it is supposed were diplomatic. On the 21st of September, 1529, he stole from Florence in the greatest secrecy and went to Venice. Perhaps it was under the influence of one of his sudden panics at hearing that resistance on the part of the Florentines against the Medici was hopeless, and that his life, with that family again reigning in Florence, would be in jeopardy. He had had difficulties with his fortifications at San Miniato, and Condivi says that he had scented treachery and had warned the magistrates, but that little or no notice had been taken of his warnings. He thereupon gave up everything as lost, and fled. Florence seethed with treason, and Michael Angelo's action, although perhaps not heroic, in getting away, was prudent. Whether he had qualms of conscience in Venice, and felt that his conduct in quitting his post as chief of the fortifications on San Miniato was blamable, and that he repented his abrupt withdrawal from his charge we do not know, but whatever the cause he returned to Florence, having while in Venice, it is said, designed a new bridge at the Rialto. The graceful stone bridge, which all visitors to Venice must ever recall, was designed by Antonio da Ponte, and was not built until after the death of Michael Angelo.

During the siege which followed his return to Florence, Buonarroti showed much energy in defending the walls,

and to him is due the credit of having saved the church tower of San Miniato from ruin when a heavy fire was directed against it by the Imperialists. His method of protecting the tower was a novel one, bales of cotton and mattresses being placed against the walls by his orders, these proving sufficient armour against the not very powerful artillery directed upon it. He had had bastions built covering the hill of San Miniato from the gate to the Porta San Niccolo, but walls or bastion were of little avail with treachery inside the gates of the city. Stefano Colonna and Malatesta Baglioni played the part of chief conspirators and traitors, and through them Florence was given over to the enemy, and all Michael Angelo's defences proved useless.

After the capitulation the sculptor is traditionally said to have hidden in the tower of San Niccolo, one of the city's oldest churches, but it is more probable that some friend gave him shelter till the danger was past.

Shortly after these events Pope Clement sent for Michael Angelo to Rome, where there yet remained much work for his brain and hand to accomplish. His later years, which were nearly wholly spent in Rome, were less lonely than any other period of his life owing to the great friendship he formed with a very noble lady, the most distinguished patrician of her time, the Marchesa di Pescara, Vittoria Colonna. It was one of the truest and purest friendships between a great genius and a great noble lady that history has recorded; and it endured pure and perfect until death divided them. Only one or two of Michael Angelo's letters to Vittoria Colonna have been preserved, and only some half-dozen from Vittoria Colonna to him, but we know, without the

testimony of a correspondence, that his devotion and admiration for Vittoria Colonna were as great as his genius itself. If proof were needed of this devotion and admiration we find it enshrined in the verses he addressed to her.

Born in 1490, Vittoria was fifteen years younger than the sculptor. At the early age of twenty-five she lost her husband, the Marchese di Pescara, to whom she was devoted, and passed the remainder of her life principally at Viterbo and Orvieto, although frequently paying visits to her friends in Rome, and it was there she died in 1547. It was only during the later years of her life that the great friendship came to Michael Angelo and herself, and it was one of his lasting regrets that when he paid her an everlasting farewell, and stooped over her dead body as she lay upon her funeral couch, that he had only kissed the hand and not the brow of the woman whom he appears to have almost worshipped.

On the death of Clement VII. in 1534 his successor Paul III. carried out an idea which had been originated by one of his predecessors, the completion of the decoration of the interior of the Sistine Chapel by painting a huge fresco on the wall above the high altar. The work was given to Michael Angelo, and the following year saw its commencement.

Eight years were spent by Buonarroti in preparing cartoons and painting this vast space, and on Christmas Day, 1541, the fresco representing *The Judgement Day* was uncovered to the public gaze, and all Rome flocked to see this new wonder. Opinions regarding its merit were then, as they are now, divided. A more amazing *tour de force* than this painting of the *Dies Irae* does not

exist, and whether we admire or dislike Michael Angelo's representation of the awful scene, it remains one of the most extraordinary pages in the history of art.

Standing before it the unprejudiced artist must feel that, compared with this painting, the greatest works of some of the world's most famous painters are feeble and jejune. There is a sublimity even in the horror of the figures of the condemned as they fall through the lurid skies, lighted by the fires of the fathomless pit.

When he had at length completed this great labour, Michael Angelo threw himself with his accustomed ardour into preparing architectural drawings, plans, and designs for public buildings and private palaces in Rome, the most important of the latter being the Farnese Palace, which the Farnese Pope, Paul III., commissioned him to undertake. This palace is the most magnificent in a city of palaces. Within and without it has no rival. He was still superintending the decoration of this palace in 1544 when he was suddenly struck down by a dangerous illness, which was followed by attacks of gout and stone, from which he suffered until the close of his life.

Michael Angelo disliked being taken care of, or even looked after, and it was only when he was too ill to help himself that he allowed others to attend him. With the exception of his devoted body-servant and helper, both in his house and studio, Urbino, he could not tolerate servants about him.

After *The Last Judgement*, Michael Angelo did little in the way of painting, although there are some very much darkened frescoes by him representing *The Crucifixion of St. Peter* and *The Conversion of St. Paul*, in the Pauline Chapel of the Vatican. Even in Vasari's time these

frescoes were much damaged, so much had they suffered both from damp, candle smoke and incense. Old, broken down in health, and almost broken-hearted was the great artist in 1547, the year in which his friend Vittoria Colonna died, and these last frescoes show too clearly that he was approaching the end of his long pilgrimage through life.

Although urged to return to Florence by his friends Vasari and Benvenuto Cellini, and invited to do so by the then reigning Duke, Cosimo I., the old man lingered on in Rome. He appears to have had no wish in these last years to return to his once-beloved Florence. Possibly this was from a bitter feeling at the state of serfdom into which Florence had fallen. In 1535 Buonarroti had been appointed Architect, Sculptor, and Painter to the Apostolic See by a Papal Brief. To this post an annual pension of twelve thousand two hundred golden écus was attached, and the run—if one may use such a term in such a connection—of the Palace of the Vatican. When Antonio da San Gallo, the former architect to the Pope, died in 1546, Paul III., by another brief dated the 1st of January, 1547, vested the office of Architect-in-Chief of the new St. Peter's—then rising from its foundations—in Michael Angelo, with power to alter or vary the designs of the building. This office was renewed after Paul's death by Julius III. in January, 1552.

There is an interesting letter from Buonarroti to his nephew Lorenzo, written in July, 1547, during the first year of his office as Chief Architect to the Pope, in which he asks him to send the measurements of the cupola of the cathedral at Florence. Vasari writes that Michael Angelo once said that although one might imitate that structure one "could not do better." When planning the

dome of St. Peter's, Buonarroti had in his mind both that of the Pantheon and the one in Florence. Of two models, however, he kept closer to that at Florence, but his own was far greater and grander in design than either of the two others. The cupola of St. Peter's resembles the one on the cathedral at Florence in more ways than one, and it is the only other dome with a double lining within.

As has already been said, Michael Angelo's letters are not generally of a pleasing character. They could never be placed amongst the amenities of literature, since they consist principally of complaints at his treatment by the world, of ill-humour with himself, and against those with whom his work brought him into contact. An exception must be made, however, for one letter written by him to Vasari after the death of his devoted old servant, Urbino, whom he had tenderly nursed throughout his last illness; it does honour to the heart of that mighty and profound artist. Urbino had been in Michael Angelo's service since 1530, and, as we have seen, he also assisted his master in his artistic work, as well as attending to his few personal wants, for a more frugal man, short of an actual anchorite, never lived. In this letter Michael Angelo writes that his servant's death has taught him how to die, "not with regret but with pleasure. I have kept him," he continues, "seven and twenty years, and always found him sure and faithful. I had made him rich, and now that I had counted on his being a prop to my old age he is taken from me, and I have no other hope left but to meet him again in Paradise, where God, through the very blessed death he made, has shown that he has gone. What he felt more bitter than death was

Alinari photo] [*Santa Croce, Florence*

MICHAEL ANGELO'S TOMB

DESIGNED BY VASARI

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to leave me in this deceitful world, and in the midst of so many anxieties. The best of me is gone with him, and there is nothing left to me here but infinite misery."

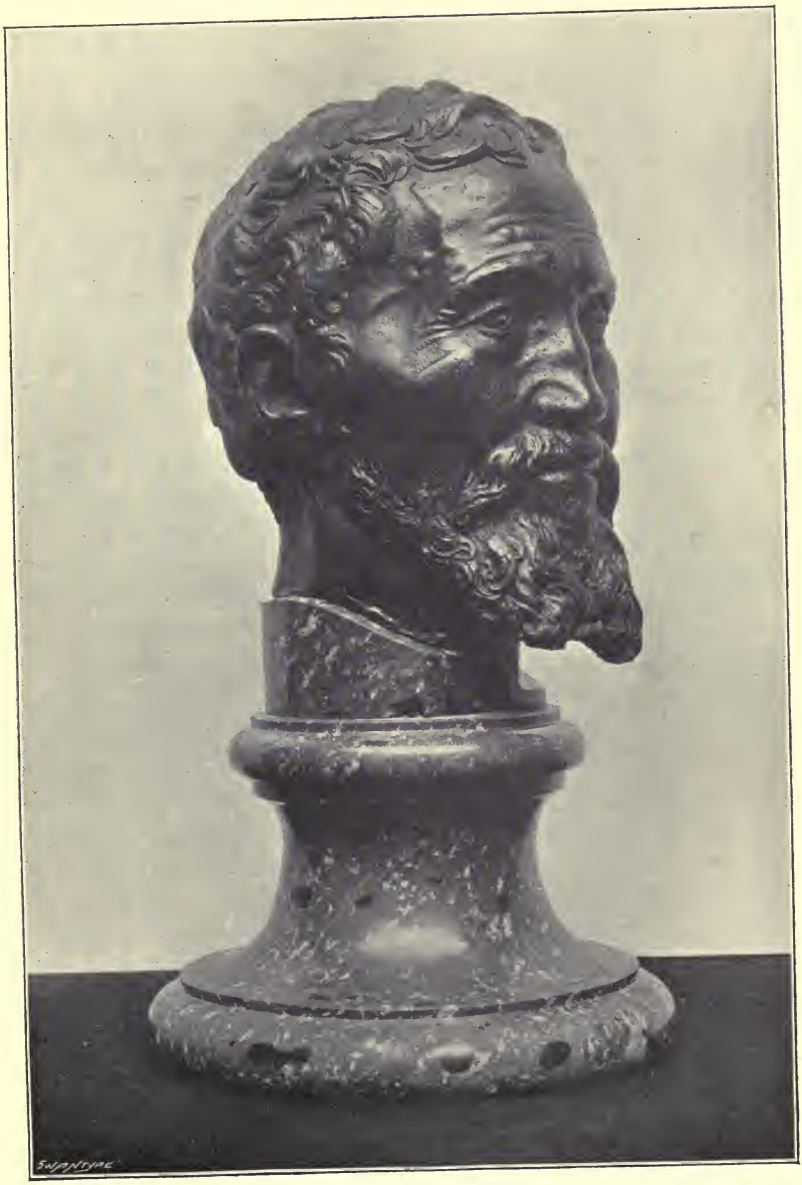
Michael Angelo's great, unhappy, but, taken all in all, glorious and splendidly prolific life, came to an end in his eighty-ninth year. He had fallen ill on the 12th of February, 1564, but had struggled bravely against pain and weakness, and only a few days before his death had attempted to mount his horse. He was well cared for during these last days by a few devoted friends. After three days of mortal weakness his spirit passed away about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of February. His last look on earth may have possibly been turned towards the great dome then rising above Rome, the noblest architectural creation which the genius of any man has accomplished.

According to his own wish, the body of Michael Angelo was taken from Rome to Florence, where he was buried in the Church of Santa Croce, as it was known by his friends that he wished his remains to be placed in that church, an appropriate spot, for he had added to its beauty both by his paintings and his sculpture. His tomb was designed by Vasari, and above the sarcophagus in which the body of the master lies, his bust was placed, in such a position that its eyes are turned to the western door of the church through which Brunelleschi's cathedral can be seen, that building beloved by Buonarroti above all others.

We owe the fullest account of Michael Angelo's outward man to his friend and pupil Condivi. "Michael Angelo," he wrote during his master's lifetime, "is of a good complexion, more muscular and bony than fat or

fleshy in his person: healthy above all things, as well by reason of natural constitution as of the exercise he takes. Nevertheless he was a weakly child, and has suffered two illnesses in manhood. His countenance always showed a good and wholesome colour. Of stature he is as follows; height middling; broad in the shoulders; the rest of the body slender in proportion. The shape of his face is oval, the space above the eyes being one-sixth higher than a semicircle; consequently the temples project beyond the ears, and the ears beyond the cheeks, and those beyond the rest; so that the skull in relation to the whole head must be called large. The forehead, seen in front, is square; the nose is a little flattened, not by nature, but because, when he was a boy, Torrigiano de' Torrigiani, a brutal and insolent fellow, smashed in the cartilage with his fist. The nose, however, being what it is, bears a proper proportion to the forehead and the rest of the face. The lips are thin, but the lower is slightly thicker than the upper; so that, seen in profile, it projects a little. The chin is well in harmony with the features I have described. The forehead, in a side view, almost hangs over the nose; and this looks hardly less than broken, were it not for a trifling protuberance in the middle. The eyebrows are not thick with hair; the eyes may even be called small, of a colour like horn, but speckled and stained with spots of bluish yellow. The ears in good proportion; hair of the head black, as also the beard, except that both are now grizzled by old age; the beard double-forked, about five inches long and not very bushy, as may be observed in his portrait."

No portrait of Michael Angelo appears to have been painted until he was well stricken in years; at any rate,



[*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*

BRONZE BUST OF MICHAEL ANGELO

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none has come down to us. If we can imagine him before his nose was crushed he must have been good-looking, but at all times his was a strikingly intellectual face, with its great frontal ridge above the eyes, "the bar," as Tennyson has called it, "the bar of Michael Angelo," giving distinction to the stern profile as we know it from medals, and the bust in Florence taken long after Torrigiano's brutal sign-manual had marred his face, and age and trouble and sickness had left their defacing marks upon it.

It is a face which produces a feeling of sadness upon those who study its features, for it bears, stamped upon it, the signs of a life of disappointment and ceaseless troubles, many real, but many, alas! imaginary: for this intensely gifted artist, this creator of sublime forms, was constitutionally nervous and apt to fall into sudden panics and alarms, in which a curiously feminine side of his temperament showed itself.

Both Vasari and Filippino Lippi saw the body of Michael Angelo at Florence when the coffin was opened on its arrival from Rome, and to them the master seemed to be resting in an earthly sleep and not in that of death. The coffin was again opened in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the body appeared still intact: again a third time it was opened—in 1857—when nothing remained but some bones of the skull, a few gray hairs, some laurel leaves, and a little heap of brown dust.

No visitor in Florence who cares for art and its followers should omit to visit the Casa Buonarroti in the old Via Ghibellini. This house belonged to the Buonarroti family, and in it Michael Angelo lived during his visits to Florence in his later days. It is now a museum, and

was bequeathed to the city by a descendant of one of the sculptor's brothers. The little room which is said to have been Michael Angelo's study is the least modernized in the building, and here are kept a few personal relics of the great man, his writing table, his sword, and the crutch-handled walking stick with a wide, jagged ferule, that he used when old and almost blind. In another room is some of his earliest work in sculpture. Here is the bas-relief of the *Madonna and Child*, so reminiscent in style of Donatello; the relief in marble of a combat between Centaurs and Lapithae, or as it was originally called *The Rape of Deianira*, a subject suggested to Buonarroti by Poliziano in the golden days of the sculptor's youth, and of which Vasari wrote that it was a work which did not seem the creation of a youth, "but from an accomplished past master." Here, too, are some models for the statue of the great *David*, and an interesting and apparently faithful and lifelike bronze bust of Michael Angelo by Ricciarelli, more generally known by the name of Daniele da Volterra: there is also a portrait of him in oils by his pupil, Marcello Venusti.

In another room are many sketches and designs for buildings by the master, and one of the façade of San Lorenzo, which we have seen was never carried out—highly interesting if one could be sure that it is genuine.

Alinari photo] [*Casa Buonarotti, Florence*

MADONNA AND CHILD

MARBLE BAS-RELIEF

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Alinari photo] [*Casa Buonarroti, Florence*

COMBAT BETWEEN CENTAURS AND LAPITHAE

MARBLE BAS-RELIEF

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CHAPTER IV

MICHAEL ANGELO AS SCULPTOR

IN the letters written by Michael Angelo to his father and brother between the years 1497 and 1512, and in those addressed to Pope Clement VII. between 1524 and 1526, it will be found that he regarded himself as a sculptor first, although knowing his worth in the sister branches of painting and architecture. This description of "sculptor" also appears on the contracts made by him in matters relating to both building and painting. Thus, for instance, when he reluctantly yielded to the wish of Pope Julius that he should paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he wrote to the Pontiff on the 10th of May, 1508: "I, Michael Angelo, Sculptor, have received 500 ducats on account for paintings in the Sistine Chapel, on which I have commenced to work this day." Again, when offering to execute a monument in Florence to the memory of Dante, he wrote as follows to Pope Leo X.: "I, Michael Angelo, Sculptor, also implore your Holiness that I may have your permission to make a tomb of the divine poet." In his poems Michael Angelo refers again and again to his position in life as being that of a sculptor, and in one of them he says:

> "Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto
> Che un sol marmo in se non circumscriva."

And from this I think there can be little doubt that this manifold genius considered sculpture his first claim. The sculptor's is the highest of all the manual arts, and especially so when, as in the case of Buonarroti, it approaches what may be justly called the superhuman, this being the only word that will apply to some of those statues called forth out of marble by the master's chisel, creations as immortal as the noblest ideals of the greatest poets. Surely humanity should feel a higher conception of the Divinity to find one of His creatures gifted with such a talent! The brain and the hand that wrought out in marble, and painted in colour the *Pietà* in St. Peter's, the tombs of the Medici, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and *The Last Judgement*, and planned the cupola of St. Peter's, equalled, if they did not surpass, any of the world's greatest geniuses, whether that genius be called Homer, Dante or Shakespeare: it would savour of impertinence to praise such work; it should only be approached in a spirit of reverent contemplation. It is to be regretted that Carlyle did not include Michael Angelo among his "Heroes," for not one of those of whom he wrote was more worthy the name.

At the time of Buonarroti's birth Italy only possessed second-rate sculptors. The giants of an earlier day had departed. Ghiberti—the maker of the Baptistery doors at Florence, which Michael Angelo said were worthy of being the gates of Paradise—had already been dead twenty years; Donatello ten; and Verocchio passed away at about the time when Michael Angelo had at length persuaded his unwilling father to allow him to take up art as a profession. Sculpture in the Peninsula

had retrograded, while painting was advancing with mighty strides. Whilst working with Ghirlandajo Michael Angelo's eyes were suddenly opened to the power of sculpture on seeing the collection of antiquities formed by Lorenzo de' Medici. The isles of Greece had been ransacked to add to the already large number of statues brought from Rome by Cosimo. A Venetian named Andreolo Giustinian, established in Greece, and a missionary monk, Francesco da Pistoja, who had visited all the coasts of the Morea, had both helped to make this collection of marbles. It was due to Donatello that the Medicean villa, with the treasures it contained, was thrown open to the Florentines, and the vogue created by the sight of these artistic spoils of old Rome and ancient Greece may be justly considered as one of the chief causes of the quickening of the new art movement in Northern Italy, known as the Renaissance.

In those spacious gardens by the side of the Arno, and in Lorenzo the Magnificent's palace-villa, young Buonarroti about the year 1488 began his education as a sculptor, his contemporaries little dreaming that he was to carry the expression of that art to the highest point it has attained in the modern world.

The well-known story of the marble mask of a faun or satyr, which is now shown in the museum of the Bargello at Florence, needs no repetition, and whether young Michael Angelo knocked out one of the satyr's teeth to prove the justice of Lorenzo's criticism that an old face should be more toothless, is of no importance beyond showing that the Magnificent bestowed a close attention on the work of the young art students studying in his gardens.

Michael Angelo's earliest works in marble, *The Combat of the Centaurs* and the *Madonna*, in the Casa Buonarroti, are of interest, but none of these early specimens of his talent are of very great merit.

Soon after the death of his princely patron Buonarroti began to study anatomy, the Prior of the Church of San Spirito allowing him the use of one of the monastic cells in which he could dissect undisturbed. It is known that he injured his health by the fierce energy that he threw, as was his wont always when working, into this gruesome study. Earlier Florentine artists had also studied anatomy. Of these the most eminent was Donatello, and the extreme thinness of many of that sculptor's statues painfully recall the dissecting table. There is nothing of this emaciation in the later sculpture of Michael Angelo, although some of his earlier work may be reminiscent of the elder man. But Buonarroti possessed what Donatello lacked, the opportunity of studying not only from dead bodies, but from the immortal forms of the Greek divinities. And thus he combined the knowledge of the body, its structure and physiology, with the human form as portrayed by the ancient Greeks.

After his first visit to Bologna, where his principal work appears to have been the little figure of a kneeling angel in marble, he found on his return to Florence that the city was under the austere influence of Savonarola, and one can readily believe that the great friar's teaching turned Buonarroti's thoughts to the Scriptures, thoughts which he was to translate into deathless paintings on the walls of the Vatican in a manner which no artist had until then attempted.

Alinari photo] [*Accademia, Florence*

MARBLE STATUE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

ATTRIBUTED TO MICHAEL ANGELO

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Brogi photo]

PIETÀ

FROM A CAST OF THE ORIGINAL AT ST. PETER'S, ROME

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Of the statuette of a sleeping child by Michael Angelo, which was taken for an antique when it was first seen in Rome, we have only somewhat uncertain statements to go upon, and it was not until the month of May in 1495 that a new phase began in the development of Michael Angelo's career. While in Rome between the years 1495 and 1496 Buonarroti's first work as a sculptor was probably the kneeling Cupid now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The upraised arm is a restoration. A more important work, done whilst he was in Rome on this first visit, is the *Bacchus*, now in the Bargello Museum, the statue so much disliked by Shelley and so much admired by Ruskin. This *Bacchus* is as highly polished as a gem; it is of life size, and shows Buonarroti's mastery of the lines of the human form. A French sculptor, M. Guillaume, who is the head of the French Academy in Rome and who speaks with authority both as an artist and as an art critic, places this statue of *Bacchus* among the finest creations of the Renaissance. To this period of Michael Angelo's career belongs, in the opinion of some writers on art, the *St. John the Baptist*, recently discovered at Pisa. But to judge from photographs I myself should be inclined to attribute the *St. John* to Donatello or to one of his pupils.

When the news of the tragic end of Savonarola came to Rome a change at once entered into the spirit of Michael Angelo's work—a change that is expressed in that intensely pathetic group of the *Pietà* which belongs to this time. Buonarroti had said, "Io intendo scultura quella che si fa per forza di levan," and he made good this boast.

The subject of the *Pietà* has been represented in a

thousand churches, but never has its awfulness been treated as we see it, by the hand of Buonarroti, in the incomparable group in St. Peter's. "Purity enjoys eternal youth," Michael Angelo answered to someone who found fault with the youthfulness of the Madonna's appearance, but few were found to criticise, and Michael Angelo had redeemed his pledge, which Galli had given the Abbot of St. Denis (called by Vasari the Cardinal di San Dionigi), that "no master of our days could make a finer work."

With this *Pietà* commenced the series of Buonarroti's greatest works, culminating in the tombs of the Medici in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo at Florence. The marble group of the *Madonna and Child*, in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges, dates a little later than the *Pietà*. In this group the Child has a most mournful expression, as if in presage of all the ills and sufferings that were to come; the Madonna's face is somewhat expressionless, in fact almost sheepish.

In 1501, when again in Florence, where his fame had preceded him, Michael Angelo was given a colossal block of damaged marble to fashion as he would. Out of this shapeless block issued the splendid figure of the youthful *David*. It should be remembered that this marble had already been worked upon, and this added difficulties to a difficult task. While at work on the *David* Buonarroti also made a figure of *St. Matthew*, as well as two circular alto-rilievos of Madonnas. The *St. Matthew* is only roughed out in the marble, and has in consequence the appearance of a gigantic human fossil. More remarkable for the difficulties the sculptor had to surmount in hewing it out, and for its size, than for its beauty, the

Alinari photo] [*Accademia, Florence*

HEAD OF DAVID

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David has great merit; the head recalls those of the youths of Monte Cavallo, and the sculptor doubtless had been inspired by those heroic figures during the time he had spent in Rome.

Models in wax of the *David* exist, both at Florence, in the Casa Buonarroti, and in London. When commencing to work Michael Angelo seems to have frequently sketched out his first idea in this material; there are three fine models in wax in the National Gallery at Edinburgh of the *Madonna and Child*, and of the two Medicean Dukes in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. The Victoria and Albert Museum is also very rich in these wax models of Michael Angelo. It possesses no less than eleven, all most valuable for the student, and for those who admire the sculptor's genius. In them we have the very touch of the master's hand, and they are consequently as precious as the MSS. of some great writer. There are indeed few plaster shops which do not possess casts of some of his works, so widely are they known in the art emporiums of Europe. At the Victoria and Albert Museum there is also a mask in terra-cotta, which is described in the inventory of the Gherardini Collection as the work of Michael Angelo. Though so small in dimension (it is but three inches high), it has all the *bravura* of Buonarroti in its expression of warlike ferocity, wonderfully rendered by a few masterful touches. By some it is thought to be the first idea for the mask which lies beneath the figure of *Night* in the San Lorenzo Sacristy. Besides all these, and the kneeling Cupid in marble, the Victoria and Albert Museum contains an unfinished statuette in marble, three feet high, of *St. Sebastian*, which belonged to the Gigli-Campana Collec-

tion. The saint is represented standing, with his arms bound behind him. The arms and legs are merely roughed in, the marks of the chisel and drill still showing on its surface.

The *Dying Adonis* in the Museum of the Bargello is believed to have been modelled by Buonarroti whilst working on the *David*, as well as the beautiful figure of a youth standing in a contemplative attitude, his feet treading on the form of an old man. This is known as the *Victory*, and is in the same museum.

The greater part of Michael Angelo's later life, as we have seen, was passed in Rome, and there forty years of his career were given by him to the work on the tomb of Pope Julius II. The fifty statues which were originally intended to decorate that monument dwindled down to the solitary *Moses*, and the two attendant figures, and in the church where Julius is *not* buried sits the great Lawgiver, looking like the mighty god Pan. The *Moses* was not finished until 1534. Michael Angelo had lived for thirty years with this statue in his studio, and when at length it was completed it became, according to Vasari, a kind of idol to the Jews of Rome, who flocked to it on their Sabbath, "like a flight of swallows, men and women, to visit and worship this figure, not as the work of the human hand, but as something divine." It was certainly extraordinary that the Jews should have made this weekly pilgrimage to a Christian church, and as Vasari is not always reliable, considerable doubt exists as to the truth of this tale, which was probably an exaggeration used by Vasari to glorify still further the talent of the master.

Although the *Moses* is in some respects the most com-

Anderson photo] [*Bargello Museum, Florence*

THE DYING ADONIS

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[*National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh*

WAX MODEL FOR STATUE OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI

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pletely carried out of all Michael Angelo's statues, it has the defect of appearing somewhat contracted. This may be owing to the shape and size of the block of marble from which it was hewn, and it should also be remembered that we do not see it in the position in which Buonarroti had intended to place it. In his original design it stood higher. The right side of the *Moses* is almost perpendicular, owing to the fact that originally it was intended to stand at one of the corners of the monuments. It is interesting to recall that Buonarroti would often work upon this statue at night, his only light being the wax candle stuck in the brim of his paper cap.

The two life-size statues, now in the Louvre, called *The Slaves*, formed a portion of the original plan of the Julian tomb. Of these the finer and more complete is that with the left arm thrown back: it is one of the most perfect things in modern sculpture. There is no apparent reason for calling these figures "Slaves," and by some writers they are supposed to typify the Liberal Arts enslaved and incapable of further action, owing to the death of their protector, Julius II. These captive youths were intended, it is thought, to stand below the sentinel figure of Moses, together with other emblematical statues, some of which represented conquered provinces, with the recumbent figure of the Pope above, supported by angels at the head and feet, the whole being crowned by the Madonna and Child in glory.

In a grotto in the Boboli Gardens at Florence there are four rough and unfinished marble figures of men which are believed to have formed part of the tomb; but they cannot be compared with the statues in Paris.

Michael Angelo's next great sculptural work was the

statues in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. Of these there are seven, of which the *Madonna and Child* is one of Buonarroti's noblest conceptions, but it has been left unfinished. The face of the Madonna is one of great majesty: the Child turns his head from the spectator as if unable to bear the sight of poor humanity. Buonarroti's verses commencing "Caro m' è 'l sonno e più l'esser di sasso," have caused the names of *Night*, *Day*, *Dawn* and *Twilight* to be given to the four figures at the feet of the two seated ducal figures. Occupying narrow niches above the sarcophagi are the statues representing the two dukes, Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici; the former, Duke of Urbino, and nephew of Leo X., the latter, titular Duke of Nemours, and brother of Leo X. The face of Lorenzo is in shadow, cast by a peaked helmet; that of Giuliano is of the type the master made his own, and closely resembles the *David* and the *Victory* of the Bargello. There is the same treatment in the modelling of the hair, the same distended nostril, the same finely-cut mouth and chin. Giuliano, who was one of the best members of his family—not that that gives him very high praise—has a look of placid repose. The costume of both dukes is fantastic, being partly that of a Roman Emperor and partly that of a Gonfaloniere of the Church. Especially to be noted is the elaborate modelling of the hands of both these statues. It was the recumbent figure that lies under the effigy of Giuliano that inspired the famous quatrain of Giovan Battista Strozzi:

> "La notte, che tu vedi in si dolci atti
> Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita
> In questo sasso e perchè dorme ha vita,
> Desta la, se nol credi, e parleratti."

Anderson photo] [*San Lorenzo, Florence*

TOMB OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI

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Anderson photo] [*San Lorenzo, Florence*

TOMB OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI

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Which translated runs:

> "The Night thou seest here, posed gracefully
> In act of slumber, was by an Angel wrought
> Out of this stone; sleeping, with life she's fraught:
> Wake her, incredulous wight; she'll speak to thee."

To this Michael Angelo answered in the name of the figure of Sleep:

> "Caro m' è'l sonno, e più l'esser di sasso
> Mentre che'l danno e la vergogna dura:
> Non veder, non sentir, mi è gran ventura;
> Però non mi destar, deh! parlo basso."

These lines have been also translated by J. A. Symonds thus:

> "Dear is my sleep, but more to be mere stone,
> So long as ruin and dishonour reign;
> To hear naught, to feel naught, is my great gain;
> Then wake me not: speak in an undertone."

The figure of *Day* is unfinished. Some writers have thought that this incompleteness was intended by the sculptor with the idea of adding effect to the group of statues by the contrast between the highly-polished and the rough-hewn figures. There is no other explanation why some parts are highly finished whilst others are left with the marks of the chisel upon them.

To appreciate these marble forms fully, they must be studied at San Lorenzo itself; no cast giving anything but an imperfect idea of their strange and fascinating glamour when seen in the position and the light in which they were placed by their creator. These particular works of Michael Angelo are without an equal in modern art, nor can they be surpassed by any sculpture

of the ancients. The banker poet Rogers has in a few words happily expressed the effect made upon him by the Penseroso Duke Lorenzo, "The sight fascinates and is intolerable," he says.

The statue of the *Christ holding the Cross*, in the Church of the Minerva in Rome, although designed by Michael Angelo, has little of his handiwork, for although it was blocked out by him in the quarries at Carrara, it was completed by one of his pupils after being sent to Rome. Pietro Urbano, also worked upon it, but the two made a poor result, and it was given to another pupil, Frizzi, to finish. This statue has been treated with similar devotion to that which has been lavished upon the bronze figure of St. Peter in the great Basilica, with the result that the right foot of the Christ became so worn that it had to be encased in a bronze sandal. Even in the sculptor's lifetime the Christ in the *Minerva* was not considered a success, and Vasari states Michael Angelo offered to make another statue of the same subject for Metello Vari dei Porcari, by whom it had been ordered; the latter, however, declared that he was quite satisfied. Metello Vari was one of Buonarroti's chief friends in Rome, and even if he had not been satisfied with the work he probably would have hesitated to put the sculptor to the trouble of repeating his work. Although there is dignity in the figure, this Christ of the *Minerva* can scarcely be regarded as "a mutilated masterpiece," the appellation given to it by J. A. Symonds. Another writer on the master, Mr. Heath Wilson, says: "Considered as a work of expression and religious art, it is in both respects without a parallel in its irreverence." On the other hand, the German art critic, Gsell-Fels,

considers this statue to be "in movement and physique one of the greatest masterpieces; as a Christ-ideal, the heroic conception of a humanist." Thus do writers and critics differ in their judgements.

To me the Christ of the *Minerva* appears simply the splendid figure of an athlete, there being nothing in its conception to typify the Saviour except the uplifted Cross. Vasari dismisses this statue summarily, merely calling it "a most admirable work."

The *Apollino* and the bust of *Brutus*, in the Bargello Museum, belong to this period. The former is somewhat sketchy in treatment but graceful in line, and has the quiet dignity so conspicuous in the so-called *Slaves* in the Louvre. The bust of Brutus is also unfinished, the head being an imaginary one, though Vasari states that it was taken from an antique carnelian intaglio. It has a strong, determined, defiant expression, and recalls some of Houdon's animated busts, and might also pass for a portrait of Danton. Symonds regards this bust as one of Michael Angelo's finest works, placing its date at 1539, when Lorenzino de' Medici gained the nickname of Brutus amongst the Florentine exiles. Buonarroti is said to have handed this bust to his pupil, Tiberio Calcagni, to finish. Calcagni, however, who acted as his secretary as well as assistant in the studio, had the good taste to decline to touch the marble, feeling that it would be a sacrilege to attempt to complete a work left unfinished by his master. To the same pupil was intrusted the *Pietà* in the cathedral in Florence, but in this instance also Calcagni refrained from tampering with Buonarroti's handiwork.

Symonds, in his life of Michael Angelo, has called

this *Pietà* "a great poem in marble." The block from which it was cut formed the capital of a pillar in an ancient temple, and unfortunately turned out to be defective after work had been begun upon it. In consequence the sculptor left it merely roughed out. As with his *Moses*, Buonarroti was wont to work on this during the night, for he was a bad sleeper, "wearing a thick paper cap, in which he placed a lighted candle made of goat's tallow."

The *Pietà* is but dimly seen behind the High Altar in the Florentine Duomo. Deeply pathetic in treatment is this unfinished group. The sinking figure of the dead Saviour, supported by three persons, has been described by Ruskin as "the strange spectral wraith of the Florence *Pietà*, casting its pyramidal, distorted shadow, full of pain and death, among the faint purple lights that cross and perish under the obscure dome of Santa Maria del Fiore." And doubly pathetic is this group when we remember that it was the last work wrought in marble by the hand of Buonarroti, who seems to have felt unequal to completing and carrying out this task. The top of this group—pyramidal in form, as noted by Ruskin—is an aged figure supporting the dead Christ. This has been called Nicodemus. The head is half concealed by a hood, but the features recall those of Michael Angelo himself. The Mother of the Saviour and the Magdalene kneel on either side of the Christ, and help to support the lifeless form sinking at their feet. Anguish was never more keenly expressed in sculpture than in these two figures.

There is at Genoa, in the Albergo dei Poveri, a marble medallion representing the Madonna clasping the head

Brogi photo] [*Cathedral, Florence*

PIETÀ

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of her dead son. This medallion is attributed to Michael Angelo. If not the work of the master, it would seem, from reproductions (for I have not seen the original) to be worthy of him, and in this marble relief the head of the Christ appears to be of even finer quality than either of the two *Pietàs* in Rome or Florence. The head of the Madonna leans against the heart of her Son; the unspeakable sorrow in her countenance is rendered with an expression of suffering which only the very greatest genius could portray.

One regrets that Michael Angelo never made a bust of Vittoria Colonna, for a likeness of such a woman and such a friend from his hand would have been of the greatest interest. But he never made a portrait bust, unless the head of Paul III. in the museum at Naples is by him, and it is extremely doubtful if it is his handiwork.

I think enough has been written of the sculptural work of Buonarroti to justify giving him the place as chief of all modern sculptors. Sculpture was his chief labour, glory, and torment. No one knew better than he the difficulties of that vocation, and if at the close of life he felt discouragement, who can but respect him the more for this feeling? He had attempted to portray the human form under the influence of the deepest emotions of which the human mind is capable, and was ever conscious that his hand, consummately skilful as it was, did not always realize his imagination.

CHAPTER V

MICHAEL ANGELO AS PAINTER

GREAT and glorious as was Michael Angelo as a sculptor, he only holds a secondary place as a painter. But we must distinguish between the work of an artist such as Buonarroti, and that of colourists like Giorgione, Titian, Rembrandt, or Rubens. As a sculptor, Michael Angelo did work which has never been equalled; but as a colourist he was lacking in strength. He could only paint the human form in all its naked splendour, and never helped his figures with wealth of colour, with backgrounds of landscape or architecture, or accessories of dress or ornament. One has but to look at the roof of the Sistine Chapel to see what was his conception of the highest form of painting.

As a painter of the human form—purely idealistic—Michael Angelo has never been surpassed, and seldom approached. His brushwork approaches in sublimity that of his chisel; and he may be said to have painted with his chisel and to have carved with his brush. The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, as a painting, is the greatest masterpiece that the hand of man has carried out, yet the genius who designed that stupendous creation was not a good colourist.

No Italian painter had ventured to present the nude until Signorelli painted his great frescoes in the Cathedral

Hanfstängl photo] [*National Gallery, London*

MADONNA AND INFANT CHRIST, ST. JOHN
THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS

ATTRIBUTED TO MICHAEL ANGELO

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at Orvieto, with astonishing excellence. But fine as they are, they cannot be compared with the great design of Buonarroti in the Vatican, which owes nothing to colour. Indeed, if all the colour were to fade and disappear, the frescoes in the Sistine would, in mere black and white, remain the wonder and despair of artists.

We know of only four authentic paintings in oil by Buonarroti, and of these, two are in our own National Gallery in London.

It was not until the exhibition of paintings from the private collections in England, held at Manchester in 1857—an exhibition which revealed a quantity of artistic treasures that had been buried in country houses—that the Michael Angelo *Madonna*, now one of the most precious possessions of the National collection, was discovered to be the work of that master. It then belonged to Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton, and had always been ascribed to Ghirlandajo, but it was probably painted by Buonarroti whilst studying under that artist: owing to its becoming known to the art world at this exhibition, it was called the Manchester *Madonna*.

The Madonna is more feminine in type than is usually the case with Michael Angelo; angels stand by her side, and the infant Christ and St. John are very sweet and childlike. The colouring is the least happy note, but as the painting is unfinished it cannot be judged as if it were a complete work. Some critics will not allow that this *Madonna* is a genuine work by Buonarroti. On the other hand, some of the ablest judges of the work of the master are convinced of its genuineness, and amongst others such authorities as Mr. Muntz, Herr Richter, and Signor Frizzoni.

The *Entombment* was in Cardinal Fesch's collection in Rome—a huge gathering of paintings, in which amongst a great deal of rubbish were some pearls. After the death of the Cardinal this particular painting was bought by a Mr. Macpherson, and became the property of the National Gallery in 1868, £2,000 being paid for it. If by any chance the picture could come into the market again, twenty times that sum would willingly be given for it.

Like the Manchester *Madonna*, the *Entombment* is unfinished. This work is more painful than impressive, and although the dead Christ is superb in drawing and foreshortening, the attendant figures are almost grotesque. Of the figure of Christ, Ruskin writes: "The dead Christ was thought of only as an available subject for the display of anatomy." The colouring is both crude and inharmonious. As with the *Madonna*, critics have disputed over the genuineness of this painting, and much as one rejoices at the presence of the first among the pictures of the nation, one would, I think, not much regret to part with the second.

No shadow of doubt attaches to the genuineness of the Doni *Madonna* in the Tribune of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, and it is the only completed oil painting by Michael Angelo known. Although the modelling and draperies in this work are superb, it does not please as a whole. It might even be said that it is the most unsatisfactory portrayal of the Holy Family that any great artist has produced. Even the greatest talent has its limitations, and Buonarroti had his as a painter in oil. And he himself was conscious of this limitation for he declared that oil painting was not his vocation.

Anderson photo] [*Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

THE "DONI" HOLY FAMILY

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Hanfstängl photo] [*National Gallery, London*

THE ENTOMBMENT OF OUR LORD

ATTRIBUTED TO MICHAEL ANGELO

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The master's great cartoon of the Florentine soldiers surprised whilst bathing in the Arno by the enemy was probably painted in distemper. This also was left unfinished. Vasari says that whilst he was working upon this fresco Michael Angelo allowed no one to enter his studio. Some of his sketches for this cartoon are still in existence, those in Vienna being the most finished: they are considered by Muntz as Buonarroti's first draught of his idea. At Oxford there is a drawing of some mounted soldiers which may have formed part of the original design, and in the Accademia at Venice there is a drawing of two figures which also belonged to this cartoon.

Vasari waxes very eloquent over the "lost cartoon": "Of a truth," he writes, "the artists were struck with amazement, perceiving, as they did, that the Master had in that cartoon laid open to them the very highest resources of art; nay, there are some who still declare that they have never seen anything equal to that work, either from his own hand or that of any other, and they do not believe that the genius of any other man will ever more attain to such perfection." Spenser writes:

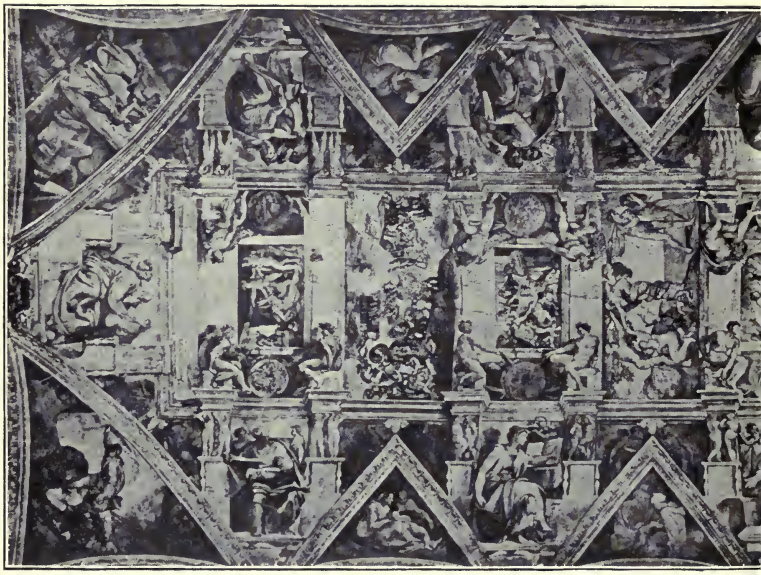
> "Of all God's works, which do this world adorn,
> There is no one more fair and excellent
> Than is man's body both for power and form,
> While it is kept in sober government."

And Michael Angelo amongst all artists was supreme in depicting "man's body" both in painting and sculpture, but nowhere was he so supreme as in his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. That chapel roof is 130 feet in length and 43 feet wide. On this space Buonarroti had a field, worthy his genius, to cover with the marvels of his brush. Although at first unwilling to paint in fresco,

never having painted in that vehicle, he soon appears to have thrown himself with all his "artistic fury," as Vasari calls his fashion of attacking a block of marble, into the task.

To those who express a sense of disappointment on seeing this ceiling, one can only say that much study and not a little artistic knowledge are necessary to its proper appreciation. And it is not given to many to comprehend worthily, even in the smallest degree, the magnificence, the might, majesty, and genius of that fresco. Let it also be remembered that this work has been the wonder and the admiration of all those who, during the past four centuries, have been most capable of feeling the splendour of the painting, that it was this fresco that made Raphael thank God that he lived in the days of Michael Angelo, and caused Sir Joshua Reynolds to write: "To kiss the hem of his (Michael Angelo's) garment, to catch the slightest of his perfections, would be a glory and a distinction enough for an ordinary man." When also it is remembered that on this ceiling there are 343 figures, many of heroic proportions, some idea of the gigantic scheme of this work may be realized.

Seen from the floor of the chapel it is difficult to grasp the perspective of these huge figures, the seated prophets and sibyls—which, if they could rise from their seats, would tower eighteen feet in the air, sublime giants and giantesses. Each one of these hundreds of figures was first drawn by Michael Angelo in outline on the plaster of the roof. In some cases, notably in the groups of children on the piers of the windows, no outline appears, a single perpendicular line being all that the artist had to guide him while painting the figures on the wet plaster,



Alinari photo]

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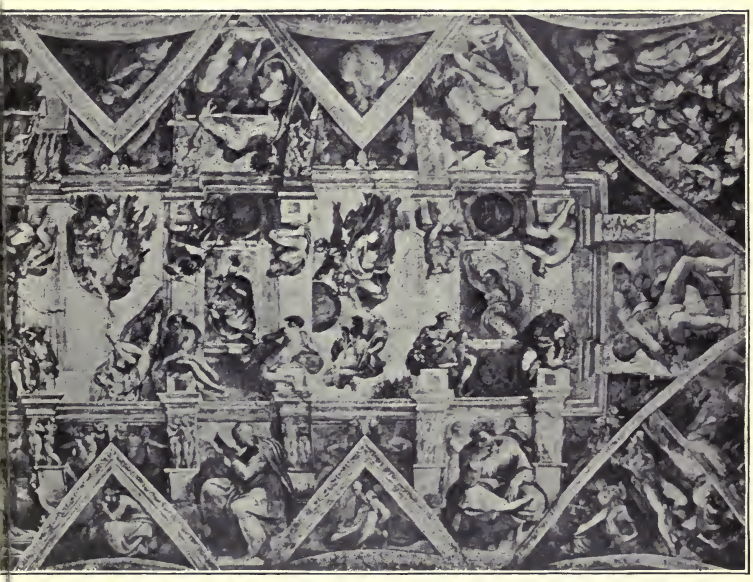

STINE CHAPEL

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DEPARTMENT OF
EXTENSION

which was composed partly of Roman lime and partly of marble dust, highly polished, and every morning Buonarroti would lay on fresh plaster before commencing work. It is astonishing, considering that nearly four centuries have elapsed, how freshly the colour remains upon this fresco. The blues, it is true, have faded out of the sky and the draperies, but the remaining colours are little altered. There are cracks and small fissures here and there on the painting, but these have probably been caused by earthquake shocks. Considerable harm has also been caused by the smoke of candles and incense burnt below in the chapel, but we must be grateful that the ages have on the whole been so merciful to this great work.

The central portion of the ceiling is divided into nine panels containing the following subjects, four of which are large, and five are small.

1. *The Almighty dividing Light from Darkness.*
2. *The Almighty creating the great Luminaries.*
3. *The Almighty blessing the Earth.*
4. *The Creation of Adam.*
5. *The Creation of Eve.*
6. *The Temptation and the Fall.*
7. *Noah's Sacrifice.*
8. *The Deluge.*
9. *Noah's Drunkenness.*

The finest of these panels is that showing the *Creation of Adam.* In the first three panels the subjects are such that even Buonarroti could not succeed, and the Almighty, figuring as a venerable patriarch, white bearded, floating in ether and gesticulating violently as He hovers round a huge terrestrial ball, only shows how inadequate even

the genius of Michael Angelo was to picture such an unpaintable subject. In the *Creation of Adam*, however, we have one of the noblest representations of humanity that any age has bequeathed to the world. Adam is just roused into life, and Michael Angelo has, I think, intended to represent the instant when the life of the spirit is first breathed into him by the Almighty, who touches the outstretched finger of the creature formed in His likeness; in another instant one expects to see Adam, still in superb inertness, rise, not only endowed with a form like a god, but with intelligence and mental power. In this panel the wingless angels, who support the Creator as He floats towards the newly-created Adam, are of the greatest beauty.

In the next panel Adam is shown sleeping, with the newly-created Eve turning from him to the Almighty. And again, in those of the *Temptation and the Fall* of our first parents, Michael Angelo has given us his finest conception of a woman; not the heavy-limbed, weary-eyed type that rests on the tomb of the Medici, but woman in all her grace, in all her beauty of form and feature.

The smaller panel, representing *The Deluge*, has suffered much from smoke. This is one of the painter's earliest panels, and finding the figures in it too small when seen from below, he enlarged them to the scale of the others. Despite the smoke-stains it can be seen how well the figures of hurrying people, flying in all haste to reach the hills, are portrayed. *Noah's Drunkenness* is a subject that does not lend itself to art, but Michael Angelo has treated the lapse of the patriarch soberly and modestly.

The nine panels are connected by painted architectural frames and at each corner of these frames is a figure of

Anderson photo] [*Sistine Chapel, Rome*

THE ERYTHREAN SIBYL

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Anderson photo] [*Sistine Chapel, Rome*

THE CUMAEAN SIBYL

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a youth seated on a pedestal. These figures are called "Ignudi" (the nudes), and of them Ruskin has written: "In this region of pure plastics, art drops the wand of the interpreter and allows physical beauty to be a law to itself."

Some of the "Ignudi" are crowned with wreaths, some bear sheaves of verdure. They are placed two and two facing one another, and support large medallions which were once gilt; on these medallions scenes from Biblical story can be traced, or scenes from the history of the Popes—the sacrifice of Abraham appears on one, the Emperor Barbarossa kneeling before Alexander III. on another. In these youthful figures Buonarroti was able to give free scope to the human form, bringing out in each the shapeliness and the play of every limb. Caryatides are painted in monochrome on the pedestals on which the "Ignudi" are seated, and between these pedestals tower the Sibyls and the Prophets, five and seven, on either side, the former, according to the legend of the Church, ranking in dignity next to the prophets of the Old Testament.

It would be no easy matter to select from amongst these magnificent figures, each a study in itself; but the most typical of Michael Angelo's power, perhaps, are those of Jeremiah, Josiah, and the Delphic Sibyl.

In the angles of the ceiling, between the tympanum and the piers, appear the smaller figures of youths, whilst at the feet of the Sibyls and Prophets children are introduced. These appear to be life-size, but in reality they are six feet high.

Michael Angelo, in order to give effect to his frescoes, made use of the lighting of the chapel with great skill,

the horizontal lights and shades being strongly laid in, whilst the painted shadows cast by the figures are deep in tone. The colouring is, on the whole, harmonious, the flesh tints being of a rosy brown, which harmonizes well with the grays and purples of the draperies. Here, however, the colouring is a secondary matter, for the modelling of all these hundreds of figures is the chief glory of the work. It should be noted that the draperies are painted with a bolder touch than the parts that are nude, and with transparent colours through which the groundwork appears. In the spandrils and arches above the chapel windows are groups of women with children, which are generally called the Genealogy of the Madonna, but they would more properly be called the Ancestry of Joseph.

In the corners of the roof are four historical subjects from the Old Testament; to wit, *Judith with the head of Holofernes*, *David slaying Goliath*, *The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent*, and *The Crucifixion of Haman*. The foreshortening in the panel of the *David*, and in that of *Haman*, should be noticed, for they are marvels of perspective.

For an explanation of the intellectual scheme of the paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine, one cannot do better than take J. A. Symonds for a guide. In his Life of the master, he says that, after unrolling the history of the creation of the world, of man and woman, of the entrance into Paradise of sin and the punishment that resulted, of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, followed by the Flood as the punishment of a sinful world, in the rectangles of the central portion of the upper vaulting, Michael Angelo "intimated by means of four special

Alinari photo] [*Sistine Chapel, Rome*

THE CREATION OF THE SUN AND THE MOON

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mercies granted to the Jewish people (the four histories painted in the angles) that redemption could follow repentance. He characterises the prophets and sibyls as the 'potent witnesses' to this promise, and adduces the figures from the genealogy of the Virgin as an 'appeal to history.'"

But when at length the mighty labour was ended, the mere physical strain had been so great that for months afterwards Michael Angelo could only read letters or books, or examine drawings, by holding them above his head, it being possible for him to see only in this position, owing to his lying upon his back day after day for months, painting the ceiling. In one of his sonnets he describes himself as having "grown a goitre by dwelling in this den," and says:

> "My beard turns up to heaven; my nape falls in,
> Fixed on my spine: my breast bone visibly
> Grows like a harp: a rich embroidery
> Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin."

Yet he must have felt that even his physical sufferings had their reward, for he knew that no other mortal had ever equalled the work his many-sided brain had carried to such successful issue.

Twenty years after the completion of the ceiling, the master was again in the Sistine Chapel at work, on the great fresco of *The Last Judgement*, which covers the whole of the north wall above the high altar. In the year 1534 Michael Angelo was sixty years old, and for the next seven years he devoted all his energies to this painting. Although the fresco of *The Last Judgement* is not so successful as the frescoes on the ceiling, it still

ranks high amongst the greatest works of pictorial art. As we now see it, *The Last Judgement* is a wreck. The colours have faded far more than those in the ceiling; the whole surface of the painting is blackened by the smoke of innumerable candles and the thousands of documents burnt below after each papal election; the grime of centuries clothes it in ruinous folds; and, worse than all, it has been much repainted.

The Last Judgement is a prodigious *tour de force*, but as a composition it is lacking in harmony. It requires careful study to form some idea of the scheme of this huge conglomeration of writhing forms and massive nudities. Let us begin at the top of the painting and work our eyes downwards. Springing from the double arch, at the summit of the vaulted ceiling, two groups of figures in every attitude of violent motion can be dimly distinguished; these figures are wingless angel messengers —in none of his frescoes did Michael Angelo place wings on the shoulders of his angels—bearing among them the instruments of the Passion, the Cross and the pillar of the Flagellation standing out conspicuously against the background; but it requires keen sight to distinguish the Crown of Thorns and the other emblems alluded to by Vasari in his description of the painting. In the centre of the fresco stands a nude figure of what appears to be a young Hercules, but it is the Christ surrounded by prophets, apostles, saints, and martyrs. A little behind and to the right is a crouching woman's figure; this is the Madonna, who appears terrified by the threatening attitude of the Judge of mankind, for the Saviour has his right hand raised, not in blessing, but in menace. Below this are angels blowing trumpets, while

Alinari photo] [*Sistine Chapel, Rome*

THE LAST JUDGEMENT

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on either side appear the forms of the dead—the saved and the lost—the former being raised to the skies by attendant angels, the latter being hurled into the pit by demons. At the base of the fresco, Charon (whose introduction into the scene adds much to the pagan feeling already so dominant) ferries a boat-load of lost souls, whom he strikes furiously with his oar, across the Styx; on the opposite side the dead are seen bursting forth from their graves. Vasari writes that in introducing the figure of Charon into this fresco, Michael Angelo took the idea from his "most beloved author Dante" and from that poet's description of the boatman of Hell when he describes him:

> "Charon, the demon, with the eyes of flame,
> Calls the sad troops, and, having gathered all,
> Smites with raised oar the wretch that dares delay."

Taken as a whole this work can only be considered as a gigantic failure, a sublime fiasco. For although it may cause the spectator a momentary feeling akin to terror, no sane-minded being can believe that this hurly-burly of nude figures, with the pantomime crew of devils and hobgoblins, can by any stretch of the imagination be a foreshadowing of the ultimate day when the Almighty shall end all sorrow and suffering, when death and sin shall be no more and the last enemy of man shall perish. Buonarroti's *Last Judgement* is a pictorial rendering of the poem commencing "Dies irae, Dies illa," with all its gloomy horror, nor could one wish the most depraved of beings to be meted out such a punishment even by their fellow human beings, as that which the Saviour is represented as giving in this scene of terror. The manner in

which the Last Judgement has been treated by Michael Angelo would be more appropriate were it intended to illustrate the belief of a savage in a god of hate and revenge, than the belief of a follower of the Divine Saviour of mankind.

But this great wall painting need not be judged as an expression of belief: rather let it be studied for its anatomical knowledge and for its skill in the representation of the human form in every conceivable attitude. In this respect it is only rivalled by Michael Angelo's other work in this chapel. It will be noticed that none of the saintly personages or wingless angels introduced into this fresco have any nimbus or halo round their heads, and many of them are almost as nude as *Adam before the Fall.* This nudity in the figures of *The Last Judgement* caused strong disapproval during the lifetime of Michael Angelo, and it became a scandal among the "unco' guid" of Rome and the Papal Court. Everyone has heard how an artist, Daniele da Volterra, who was employed to add drapery to some of the figures, gained the name of "Il Braghettone," the breeches maker. Pope Paul III. is said to have carried his objection to this want of clothing in *The Last Judgement* to such a length of prurient fervour, that he was with difficulty prevented from having the fresco obliterated. If this Pope had had his will the fame of the painter would not have suffered greatly, for as it has already been said, the fresco is not one of Michael Angelo's successful efforts, full though it is of masterly drawing.

So much has the painting suffered from smoke and repainting that it is now impossible to judge of its original effect and colouring, but as we know, colour was

never the painter's forte, and if all the colour were taken away from the ceiling, and from the north wall of the Sistine Chapel, the effect of the frescoes would lose nothing in value. It is probably owing to this that photographic reproductions of these frescoes are so entirely satisfactory, and in studying them one can feel little regret that we have not the colour of the originals.

When he had at length finished *The Last Judgement*, Buonarroti, then sixty-seven years of age, set to work on the two large frescoes in the private chapel of Paul III., called after him the Pauline Chapel, and built by the renowned architect Antonio da Sangallo. There must have been a marked falling off in these paintings as compared with those in the Sistine Chapel, and Michael Angelo, when writing to the Pope in 1542, says that he felt "molto vecchio." But he still had many years of work before him. Old age, and what, alas! accompanies old age, the loss of those he loved, pressed now heavily on the weary artist.

The frescoes of the Pauline Chapel represent *The Martyrdom of St. Peter* and *The Conversion of St. Paul.* The French author, Stendhal, more than half a century ago, described these frescoes as then being so darkened and discoloured that he was unable to distinguish the white horse from which St. Paul had fallen. Even at the end of the eighteenth century these frescoes were considered irremediably injured. Michael Angelo was in his seventieth year when he finished these paintings in the Pauline Chapel. Vasari is right in saying that fresco painting is not the kind of work adapted to the failing physical powers of old age—"non è arte da vecchio." With the exception of shaping blocks of marble

into statues, no other manner of art production requires greater vigour and sureness of eye than painting in fresco. We have at the British Museum some studies for these paintings in the Pauline Chapel, and there are others at Oxford. Altogether Buonarroti was at work in the Vatican some score of years, the Pauline frescoes being his last contribution to its adornment.

Architecture, poetry, and some more sculpture filled up the remaining years of the artist's long and laborious existence.

During his later years he designed several paintings, a few of which may have been by his hand, but most of the pictures were painted after his designs by other artists. Of these there is the well-known *Leda*, the original of which, supposed to have belonged to Francis I., has been lost; it formed part of that art-loving king's collection at Fontainebleau. It was in that palace in the reign of Louis XIII., and is supposed to have been intentionally destroyed on the ground of its being indelicate. There is a fine cartoon of this painting in black chalk at Burlington House, which is believed to be an early copy. There is also an old copy of the *Leda* in the academy at Berlin. Another painting of a similar subject, that of a Venus, was described by Vasari as a "cosa divina." There is an old copy of this painting in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, probably by Pontormo, and there is a repetition of it at Hampton Court.

Besides these, many cartoons are traditionally said to have been inspired by Buonarroti, and among them Vasari states that Michael Angelo had designed for Alphonso d'Avalos, Marquis del Guasto, a painting of the Saviour with the woman of Samaria, and this is said

to have been repeated twice by Pontormo. There are also two *Annunciations* in churches in Rome after the master's designs; one is in Santa Maria della Pace, the other in St. John Lateran.

At Forli there existed a painting of the *Resurrection* by Marcello Venusti after a design by Buonarroti, of which there are studies from his hand in the British Museum and in the Louvre—studies full of what his pupil Sebastiano del Piombo called the "terribilità" of the master. There were also other paintings by Buonarroti's pupil, Venusti. Of these there was one in the Orleans Gallery, representing *Christ in the Garden of Olives*—this is a replica of one now at Munich. Michael Angelo is also supposed to have designed the painting of *The Martyrdom of St. Catharine* in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, but probably this is by Giuliano Bugiardini. Sebastiano del Piombo also painted some well-known works which were prompted by his master. The best known of these is that majestic picture, *The Raising of Lazarus*, in the National Gallery; but this belongs to the middle portion of Michael Angelo's career, as it bears the date 1519. Sketches and studies for this *Raising of Lazarus* by Michael Angelo himself exist in some public collections; there are two of the figures of Lazarus in red chalk in the British Museum.

At Rome, in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio, there is a celebrated altar painting in oil on marble, by Sebastiano del Piombo, of the flagellation of our Lord, which again is after a design of Buonarroti. By the same painter there is a *Holy Family* in our National Gallery, likewise designed by Michael Angelo, as well as a re-

markable little painting in oils called *The Dream of Human Life*, also attributed to the master. It has much of the great artist's character in the figure of the youth looking upwards, but it was painted by one of his pupils. In the Pitti Gallery at Florence there is a life-size group of three old crones known as *Michael Angelo's Three Fates*, but there is little substantial evidence to make this attribution anything but a surmise.

Anderson photo] [*Pitti Gallery, Florence*]

THE THREE FATES

ATTRIBUTED TO MICHAEL ANGELO

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CHAPTER VI

MICHAEL ANGELO AS ARCHITECT

IT has been seen how great was Michael Angelo, both as a sculptor and as a painter. He was remarkable also as an architect; for not only did he design the most stupendous dome of any church in Christendom by placing, as he boasted he would place, the Dome of the Pantheon on the Church of St. Peter, but he added the greatest buildings in Rome—the Farnese Palace and the palaces on the Capitol—to that city of magnificent buildings. Had Buonarroti been allowed to place the façade which he designed before the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, Italy might have boasted of another architectural marvel. It is said that when he was building St. Peter's he was told he would have the opportunity to surpass the dome of Brunelleschi, and that he replied in verse:

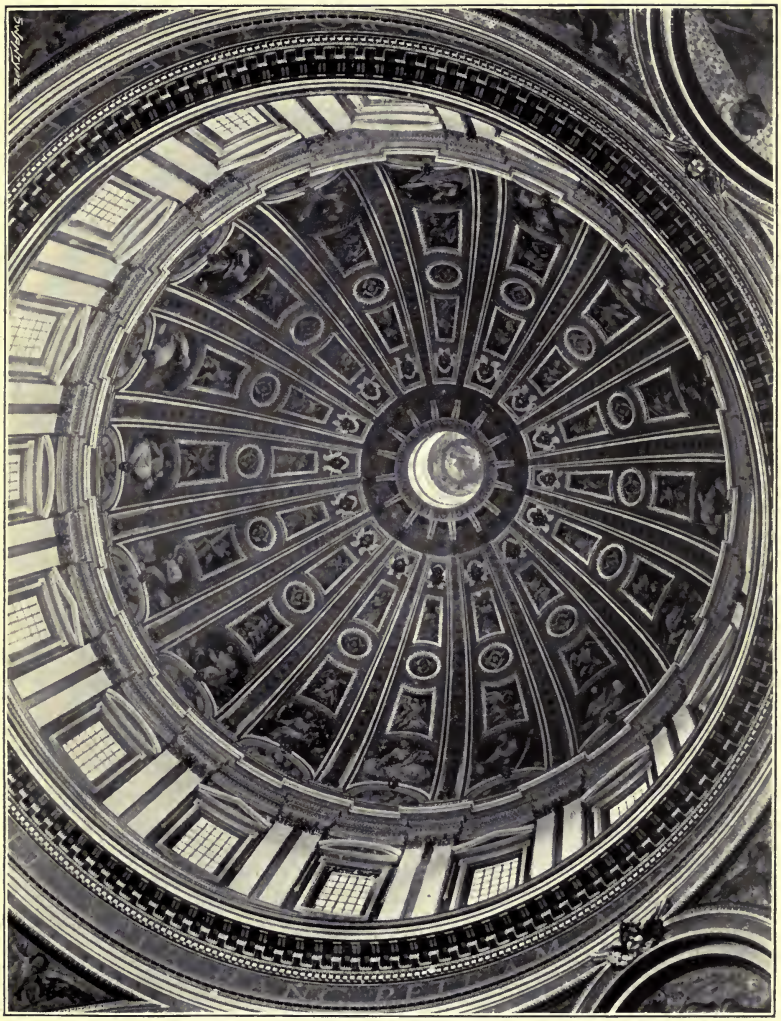
> "Io farò la sua sorella,
> Più grande già, ma non più bella,"

which freely translated runs: "I will make its equal, much larger certainly, but not finer." Michael Angelo had not studied architecture as a profession, and, even in his greatest architectural designs, architects are apt to find faults in his superb amateurishness of treatment. Among these critics, the French architect, Charles Garnier, whose huge, splendid, but somewhat over-ornate

Opera House in Paris is among the few great architectural creations of the last century, has gone so far in his criticism as to express his opinion that Michael Angelo has no right to be called an architect at all, and calls his style in some of his buildings, notably the Porta Pia in Rome, *baroque*. Garnier also criticises the buildings designed for the palaces on the Campidoglio, which he thinks defective in taste. Nor will he even allow the Dome of St. Peter's, with its marvellous cupola, to be above criticism, and is of the opinion that it has more right to be considered as the idea of Giacomo della Porta than of Buonarroti. "But why," asks Garnier, "seek for spots on the sun?" Why indeed?

Even during the Renaissance the Italians were not creative or original in architecture. From Byzantium came the spacious cupolas, the wealth and glory of mosaics which still glow on the walls of St. Mark's at Venice, in the Royal Chapel at Palermo, and in the great church at Monreale, at Cefalù, and at Ravenna. But it took centuries for the Italians to copy with any fidelity the antique order of architecture, and it was not until after Brunelleschi and Leo Battista Alberti's time that the Graeco-Roman style was freely introduced in Italian churches and palaces. The Lombard style is almost identified with the Roman; but the so-called Gothic never became popular in Italy, although that huge mass of marble, the Cathedral at Milan, is Gothic. It was never repeated by the great Italian architects during the later days of the Renaissance.

Michael Angelo appeared at a period of transition in Italian architecture. He lived to raise the most stupendous monument of classical architecture in existence.



Alinari photo]

INTERIOR OF THE CUPOLA OF ST. PETER'S, ROME

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This was followed by an impure style in the next generation, and shortly after his death the bastard form came into play, developing into the so-called Baroco, this in turn being followed by the Rococo.

In 1547 Buonarroti had been appointed architect-in-chief for the construction of the great Basilica of St. Peter's, an appointment for which he refused all salary, working, as he nobly expressed, "for the love of God alone." Bramante had commenced the new building of St. Peter's on the plan of an equilateral cross, which is generally known as the Greek cross. But this plan was altered, a Latin cross being substituted by Raphael, Baldassare Peruzzi, and San Gallo. Michael Angelo restored the shape to the Greek cross, but after his death it was once more changed to the form in which we now see it. There can be no question that, had Michael Angelo lived long enough to complete the church, or had the model he made in his eightieth year been carried out, St. Peter's would have been an even more imposing structure than it is now. It was a misfortune that after Buonarroti's death Pope Paul V. employed the architect Maderno to complete the building, which he did in the form of a Latin cross, elongating the nave, and adding the baroque façade by which he completely spoilt the proportions of the church, and detracted from its general effect. What the world owes to Michael Angelo in St. Peter's is its glorious dome and cupola, the noblest monument that the skill of man has accomplished. One forgets the shortcomings and bad taste of the interior when one looks on that great dome rising into space. It is as Symonds writes, "the final manifestation of Michael Angelo's genius as a creative artist."

Melancholy as is the history of Michael Angelo's troubles with regard to the tomb of Julius II., those he endured while creating that world's wonder, the cupola of St. Peter's, were hardly less so. A long line of Popes and architects impeded him in his labours, and for seventeen years defeated him in his intentions regarding the construction of the building, only leaving the cupola as he designed it.

On the accession of Marcellus II. to the papal throne, Michael Angelo's enemies renewed their hostility, and it was at this time that he wrote to Vasari: "I was set to work on St. Peter's against my will, and I have served now eight years gratis, and with the utmost injury and discomfort to myself. Now that the fabric has been pushed forward and there is no money to spend, and I am just on the point of vaulting in the cupola, my departure from Rome would be the ruin of the edifice, and for me a great disgrace throughout Christendom, and to my soul a grievous sin." The model made in wood by Maître Jean, a Frenchman, under the eye of Michael Angelo, still exists at St. Peter's, and in no essential detail does it differ from the cupola.

The three palatial buildings which crown the Campidoglio at Rome owe their existence to Buonarroti. In 1534 Paul III. saw and approved the plans which Michael Angelo submitted to him. These included the flight of steps which lead up from the Piazza to the open square on the top of the Capitoline Hill. These three palaces consist of the Palace of the Campidoglio in the centre, flanked by the museums of sculpture and the Palace of the Senate. In the centre of the square Michael Angelo placed the equestrian bronze statue of

Alinari photo]

THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY, FLORENCE

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Marcus Aurelius. After his death, the architects Vignola and Giacomo della Porta completed these buildings after Michael Angelo's designs.

Writing to his nephew in 1559, Michael Angelo alludes to a church which he had been asked to build for the Florentines in Rome: "The Florentines are inclined to erect a great edifice—that is to say, their church, and all of them with one accord put pressure on me to attend to this." But nothing came of this scheme, the money was not forthcoming, and no models or designs for this church exist. This is but one of the many contemplated works which Buonarroti was never able to carry out in the Eternal City.

While these schemes and buildings were occupying Michael Angelo's attention in Rome, he was consulted by some Florentine artists as to plans for the completion of the Laurentian Library, in which the staircase seems to have caused great difficulty, and finally Vasari, unable to understand Michael Angelo's idea for its completion, constructed one from his own plan.

It would be tedious to give a list of the buildings on which Michael Angelo was engaged in Rome. In some cases, as in the gate of the Porta Pia, and those of the Porta del Popolo, which are ascribed to him, he was in no way responsible beyond the fact that Vasari mentions that he made plans and sketches for the latter gate, "of which the Pope Pius IV. selected the least costly." It was this Pope who commissioned Buonarroti to transform a portion of the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian into a church. But it is not easy to determine Michael Angelo's share in the transformation, as the church was entirely re-modelled in 1749. Buonarroti had formed a

portion of the ruins into a building shaped like a Latin cross, but this was changed into a Greek one, and the interior of the church desecrated by the vulgarest style of rococo decoration. The handsome cloisters attached to this church, now used as a museum, are said to be Michael Angelo's designs, and were one of the features of the Eternal City, when the great clump of cypresses, said to have been planted by the architect, still grew in their midst.

CHAPTER VII

MICHAEL ANGELO AS DRAUGHTSMAN

IT has been justly said that Buonarroti's drawings and studies are among his most wonderful productions, for his hand followed the working of his mind with marvellous rapidity, and the simpler the means the greater appears the talent of the artist. Of the three greatest art-geniuses of Italy—Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo—the last produced, if not the greatest number of drawings, many of the finest, which are now the glory of the great art museums of Europe. In the Louvre, in the British Museum, in Berlin, at Oxford, at Windsor Castle, and at Chatsworth are many superb drawings by the master; but the most remarkable collection of his drawings is perhaps that in the Albertina Museum at Vienna.

No other great Italian artist made the human body his special study as did Michael Angelo. Up to his time it had been considered contrary to the tenets of the Church to sculpture or paint the nude; it had been ignored in art; but Buonarroti did not hesitate to portray man as he was, naked and not ashamed.

I think there is no exaggeration in saying that if all Michael Angelo's other works were to disappear, like some "baseless fabric of a vision," his studies and drawings in chalk, India ink and sepia would prove him to

have been one of the most consummate artists of all time. Among the hundreds of drawings scattered throughout the great public and private collections in Europe, there is one at Windsor Castle, known as *The Archers*, which is probably the finest drawing in existence.

As a sculptor Michael Angelo was unequal, as a painter in oils he had his failings, but as a draughtsman he was supreme. With what mastery he indicates by a few cross hatchings of his reed pen a figure, a study for a figure in a fresco, or for a statue in marble. Although at times he seemed carried away by his tremendous energy, there are few of his studies which are not anatomically perfect in every detail. No other master in the art of drawing, Leonardo alone excepted, could vie with Buonarroti, for compared with him even Raphael, with all his divine grace, lacks power. There is a mastery even in the slightest study by Michael Angelo which arrests and rivets the eye.

In no museum can Michael Angelo's drawings be better studied than in the Louvre, where his drawings are all displayed in glass cases, not placed out of sight as in most museums. And in that gallery are some fine examples of his work, that but for the miserly stupidity of the English Government might now have been the property of the British nation. After Sir Thomas Lawrence's death, in 1830, his collection of drawings by the old masters, which formed the finest private collection of the time, was offered to our Government at a price infinitely below its value. The offer was declined, and the collection was consequently sold and scattered. During the lifetime of Sir Thomas the English Government might have acquired this collection for £20,000, a sum which represented only half of what the President had spent

[*British Museum*

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

STUDY IN BLACK CHALK

Formerly in the Warwick Castle Collection

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[*British Museum*

ANATOMICAL STUDY

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upon it. But this offer was not accepted. The Louvre possesses forty-seven drawings by Michael Angelo, of which the following formed part of the Lawrence Collection :

A study of *The Madonna and Child* for the statue in the Sacristy at Florence.

A study of the smaller figure of *David*, which was sent to France.

A study for a *Dead Child.*

The Museum of Lille possesses a very valuable collection of drawings by Michael Angelo—some hundred and fifty of which are in a book, which was probably lost by the master at the time of the siege of Florence. This precious volume contains studies after the buildings of Brunelleschi and Bramante, and after ancient buildings and measurements ; among them is Michael Angelo's design for the façade of the library of San Lorenzo at Florence. At the end of this book of designs is a long notice written by the master, describing the manner of casting a " piece of artillery," with sketches illustrating the notice, as well as a sketch of a cannon. Probably this design and description were written before the siege of Florence ; for when, thirty-two years later, Vasari on the part of Cosimo asked him for the plan of the staircase for the library of San Lorenzo, Michael Angelo told him that all he remembered relating to it was like a dream ; the plan of this very staircase is one of the illustrations in this most interesting book, and one of the most precious treasures of the Musée Wicar.

Next to the Louvre the museum where one can thoroughly enjoy some of Michael Angelo's drawings is that of the Uffizi in Florence, for there, as in the Louvre,

they are placed under glass. Want of space prevents this arrangement at the British Museum, but in the galleries at Oxford the same system has been carried out as at the Louvre and the Uffizi, to the great boon of the student.

While Raphael's drawings are full of grace and sweetness, Michael Angelo's are full of energy and passion. No other artist ever used chisel, brush and pen with such tremendous power. With a few strokes of his pen dipped in bistre he would create a little masterpiece. Even his slightest sketches once seen are not easily forgotten, whether the drawing represents a Crucifixion, the figure of a satyr, a group of boys at play, or a scene of terror and bloodshed. Among a pile of drawings by other masters a scrap by Buonarroti will stand out as defined and individual as a phrase of Shakespeare, bearing unmistakeably the mind and hand of supreme genius. Every one of Michael Angelo's studies is replete with meaning, whether it is of a beggar or a goddess. There is intense originality, but the terrible prevails, and even in his designs of loves and cupids, of Venuses and Ledas, there is a majesty and dignity in the figures which belong to Buonarroti alone. His anatomical studies are highly finished: every bone and every muscle is drawn with amazing accuracy and knowledge. Yet no models could have posed for the figures in *The Last Judgement*, with their limbs rising, falling, and hurtling through the air. Those figures were born of inspiration.

Nowhere has photography been more useful to art students than in reproducing the frescoes and drawings of this great master. Until the middle of the last century Michael Angelo's works were only known to those who

[*British Museum*

STUDY IN PEN AND BISTRE

From the Malcolm Collection

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

[*British Museum*

STUDY IN RED CHALK FOR THE FIGURE OF LAZARUS
IN SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO'S PAINTING
IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

had visited Italy, or who could afford to buy the engravings after his best known works. It is now possible for the art student to buy for a few shillings what for all practical purposes are equivalent to the original drawings and studies of Michael Angelo.

In England, where the master has always been appreciated, a series of admirably engraved plates after his designs was published between 1798 and 1841. Of these young Ottley's engravings, and those in the Lawrence collection engraved by Metz, were the most important. But the work in which these engravings appeared was too expensive for the public at large, and only within reach of the rich. France, always the leader in matters of art, issued some noble works on Michael Angelo, but even in that country Buonarroti was almost as little known outside the artistic world as in England, until Adolph Braun's superb phototypes were published.

Now there is no lack of photographs of the whole life-work of the master in sculpture, in drawing and in painting, published by Anderson in Rome, by Alinari in Florence, by Hanfstängl in Munich, and by Braun in Paris. In 1901 F. Bruckmann of Munich published a superb portfolio of photographic reproductions of drawings and studies by Michael Angelo in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem—some thirty facsimiles of the master's designs for his frescoes. As showing the details of those works this publication is of the highest interest and importance to all those desirous of studying Michael Angelo, and one can only regret that neither the British Museum nor the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford have similar records of the treasures that are hoarded in their galleries.

It is to Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., that Oxford

indirectly owes its almost unrivalled collection of original drawings by Michael Angelo. That great artist and indefatigable collector of drawings by the old Italian masters, as already stated, is said to have expended £40,000 upon his collection, and in his will offered this collection "of genuine drawings by the old masters, which, in number and value, I know unequalled in Europe, and which I am fully justified in estimating, as a collection, at twenty thousand pounds," first to George IV., and, if declined by that illustrious monarch, "to the Trustees of the British Museum, and afterwards, successively, to the Right Honourable Robert Peel" and Lord Dudley. Finally, failing these, Sir Thomas instructed that the collection was to be sold by public auction.

To the everlasting disgrace of the nation and of the individuals to whom Lawrence had offered his collection at half its value, it was purchased by Messrs. Woodburn, the picture dealers, to whom Sir Thomas was largely indebted, for the sum of £16,000. No purchaser for the Michael Angelo and Raphael drawings coming forward in England, Messrs. Woodburn ultimately sold a portion of them to King William of Holland; but fortunately the royal amateur knew little of their importance, and the finest studies of Michael Angelo, disregarded by him, returned to England. At length, in 1842, the Michael Angelo drawings were purchased from Messrs. Woodburn for the University of Oxford, a difficulty in regard to the price to be paid to the dealers having been removed by the second Earl of Eldon supplying the £4,000 required to complete the purchase.

Among the eighty studies and designs in the Ashmolean Museum the following are the most important:

[*British Museum*

STUDY FOR THE FIGURE OF CHRIST, IN A COMPOSITION OF THE RESURRECTION

BLACK CHALK

From the Malcolm Collection

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EXTENSION

[*British Museum*

STUDY, APPARENTLY FOR THE FRESCO OF THE CREATION OF ADAM IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL

DRAWN IN BLACK CHALK

From the Malcolm Collection

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A group of three standing figures. (From the Richardson, Spencer, Ottley and Lawrence Collections.) Full of life and character. Pen drawing in bistre.

Study of a recumbent figure in black chalk, probably for one of the Medici tombs. (From Sir J. Reynolds's and Sir T. Lawrence's Collections.)

A study for a man's head in profile in red chalk. Full of the "mano terribile" of the master. (From the Wicar, Ottley, and Lawrence Collections.)

A woman's head in profile in red chalk. A very fine and striking work. (From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.)

A torso study in pen and bistre of a youth. On the same sheet are beautiful little studies of amorini, and smaller sketches of a leg, and four seated figures. (From the collections of Charles I., Lord Hampden, and Lawrence.)

A sketch in pen and bistre for the Battle of Pisa cartoon, from which we can form some idea of that marvellous creation. Nothing can be more animated than the little groups of combatants.

Five sheets of studies for the same cartoon in pen and bistre from the same collections.

There are also studies in red chalk and pen drawings in bistre for the tomb of Julius II. drawn about 1506 (from the Mariette, Lagoy, and Lawrence Collections), as well as eight leaves from a sketchbook (from the Ottley and Lawrence Collections), the latter mostly drawn with a pen and bistre; these contain figures for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. There are many separate studies for this ceiling, and one, especially superb, in black chalk, for the figure of Adam in the

composition of *The Creation of Eve.* (From the Reynolds and Lawrence Collections.)

A study in red chalk (from the Denan and Lawrence Collections) of a group of the disciples carrying the body of the dead Christ, is supposed to be unique. It was probably designed for an oil painting of which no trace exists. It has no point of similarity with the dead Christ in the National Gallery. There is another composition in red chalk for a Crucifixion into which a group of the holy women is introduced gathered round the Virgin, who is swooning; this fine study was in the Lawrence Collection. The Ashmolean Museum also possesses many architectural studies by the master, some evidently intended for the sacristy of the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, as well as designs for the architraves of windows, probably those of the palace on the Capitoline Hill and the Farnese Palace. There are also some delightful studies of cupids drawn between the years 1510 and 1520. Besides all these there are numerous studies of anatomical subjects, the most interesting of which is the drawing, already referred to, in which Michael Angelo has introduced himself and his friend Antonio della Torre dissecting a dead body. This is a pen or reed drawing in bistre. It has belonged to several well-known collections, that of Mariette amongst others. Here, too, are studies for the Sibyls of the Sistine. Some appear to have been taken from life, as if the artist had found in the figure of some old peasant a fitting subject to be transformed into a sibyl or prophet, as in the case of that other great master, Rembrandt, who found in some old Jew huckster of Amsterdam a Samuel or an Abraham. The many studies for the fresco of *The Last*

Judgement in the Museum are very interesting and helpful in indicating the manner in which that stupendous work grew in the artist's conception.

These brief notes of the drawings by Michael Angelo in the Ashmolean Museum will, I think, give some idea of the wealth and importance of that collection. There are a few drawings by him in the Library of Christ Church College, but none of them compare with any of those in the Ashmolean.

The watermarks of the paper upon which Michael Angelo drew his studies have a curious interest. They are no less than eighty-four in number, all different in design, many of them being emblematical. One interesting point is proved by them—that Michael Angelo used the same paper for writing his letters and sonnets as for his drawing. And to the student they are particularly valuable as they fix the date of the drawing, and sometimes the place in which the drawings were made. Thus, the watermark on two letters, written by Michael Angelo at Bologna in 1506, is a large capital B, which doubtless indicates Bologna; and it may be fairly thought that the paper was made in that city and bought there by the sculptor. A close study of these watermarks has led to the dates of Michael Angelo's more important studies being comparatively fixed.

CHAPTER VIII

MICHAEL ANGELO AS POET

SOMETHING of the rugged force which breathes from all his sculpture is to be found in Michael Angelo's poetry: at times it is as harsh and strained as the attitudes of some of his figures in *The Last Judgement*, at others it has all the depth of feeling and pathos of his *Pietà*; whilst some of the late sonnets might have been written by a fanatical priest.

After his death the manuscript of his poems went to his nephew, Lionardo Buonarroti, whose son, Michael Angelo Buonarroti, in turn inherited them. This great-nephew of the sculptor was himself a poet; and, after preparing the poems, published them in 1623. But in many instances they were not the poems the elder Michael Angelo had sent to his intimate friends, the original meaning of many passages having been deliberately altered by mutilation and transposition. In his attempt to elucidate and refine the expressions permitted to poetry in an age earlier and less prudish than his own, the younger Michael Angelo only succeeded in obscuring what he attempted to explain; so much so that Wordsworth, after translating a few of the sonnets, wrote: "I can translate, and have translated, two books of Ariosto at the rate of nearly one hundred lines a day; but so much meaning has been put by Michael Angelo

into so little room, and that meaning sometimes so excellent in itself, that I found the difficulty of translating him insurmountable." A book on Michael Angelo, "considered as a philosophic poet," based on the great-nephew's presentation of the poems, was published by John E. Taylor in 1840, but in England his poetic work was little known. In France, however, there were two translations, one, in prose, by Lannau-Rolland, and the other, in verse, by Roland Saint Cyr de Rayssac; but as these were both taken from incorrect versions, they have little or no value. And it was not until Signor Guasti, of Florence, had obtained access to the original manuscripts and published his now famous edition of the poems in 1863, that the world became aware of the fraud practised upon posterity by the sculptor's great-nephew. "We read now for the first time," writes John Addington Symonds, "what the greatest man of the sixteenth century actually wrote, and are able to enter, without the interference of a fictitious veil, into the shrine of his own thought and feeling. His sonnets form the best commentary on Michael Angelo's life, and on his sublime ideal of art." Symonds' translation of poems from this edition gave those unable to read the original the opportunity of appreciating the deep poetic feeling of the creator of the *David* and *Il Penseroso.*

Michael Angelo's fervent admiration of Dante found expression in two of the earliest of his sonnets, which are supposed to have been written when he himself was in exile. In the second he bitterly reproaches his beloved city of Florence:

> "Thankless I call her, and to her own pain
> The nurse of fell mischance; for sign take this,

That ever to the best she deals more scorn :
Among a thousand proofs let one remain ;
Though ne'er was fortune more unjust than his,
His equal or his better ne'er was born."[1]

The two following sonnets, by reason of their invectives against the Papal misrule, were clearly written in Rome, and probably at the time when he was fretting under the vacillations of Julius II. in the matter of the tomb, and when his naturally austere temperament was being daily outraged by the contradiction between the expressed religion and the political ambitions of the Papacy:

"Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
His cross and thorns are spears and shields; and short
Must be the time ere even his patience cease.
Nay, let him come no more to raise the fees
Of this foul sacrilege beyond report!
For Rome still flays and sells Him at the court
Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase."

But to those who study Michael Angelo as an artist—either in marble or on canvas—those sonnets in which he takes his art as his theme, showing how friendship was often a source of inspiration, will prove the most interesting. As, for instance, in the following, written, probably, after the death of Vittoria Colonna :

"When my rude hammer to the stubborn stone
Gives human shape, now that, now this, at will,
Following his hand who wields and guides it still,
It moves upon another's feet alone.
But that which dwells in Heaven, the world doth fill
With beauty by pure motions of its own;
And since tools fashion tools which else were none,
Its life makes all that lives with living skill.

[1] My quotations are all taken from Symonds' translation.

"Now, for that every stroke excels the more
The higher at the forge it doth ascend,
Her soul that fashioned mine hath sought the skies:
Wherefore unfinished I must meet my end,
If God, the great artificer, denies
That aid which was unique on earth before."

In the first stanza is Michael Angelo's declaration of his ideal in art. Not the ideal too widely held by modern artists, that the man should impress his personality upon his material, creating beauty, strength, as it were, in his own image, but that beauty lies hidden in everything, and that man is guided by a higher power than art to call it forth into being. Again, in another sonnet, he shows that "just as a sculptor hews from a block of marble the form that lies concealed within, so the lover has to extract from his lady's heart the life or death of his soul," reiterating in the first four lines his leading principle, that man alone cannot create beauty:

"The best of artists hath no thought to show
Which the rough stone in its superfluous shell
Doth not include: to break the marble spell
Is all the hand that serves the brain can do.
The ill I shun, the good I seek; even so
In thee, fair lady, proud, ineffable,
Lies hidden: but the art I wield so well
Works adverse to my wish, and lays me low.

"Therefore not love, nor thy transcendent face,
Nor cruelty, nor fortune, nor disdain,
Cause my mischance, nor fate, nor destiny;
Since in thy heart thou carriest death and grace,
Enclosed together, and my worthless brain
Can draw forth only death to feed on me."

The sonnets also show with what "religious fervour" Michael Angelo worshipped intellectual beauty, and

how, as Symonds says, "he alone in that age of sensuality and animalism pierced through the form of flesh and sought the divine idea it imprisoned." The following, with others, was addressed to Tommaso Cavalieri, a Roman nobleman, somewhat in the manner of those addressed by Shakespeare to Mr. W. H.:

"As one who will reseek her home of light,
Thy form immortal to this prison-house
Descended, like an angel piteous,
To heal all hearts and make the whole world bright.
'Tis this that thralls my heart in love's delight,
Not thy clear face of beauty glorious;
For he who harbours virtue, still will choose
To love what neither years nor death can blight.

"So fares it ever with things high and rare,
Wrought in the sweat of nature; heaven above
Showers on their birth the blessings of her prime;
Nor hath God deigned to show Himself elsewhere
More clearly than in human forms sublime;
Which, since they image Him, alone I love."

Tommaso Cavalieri was one of the friends at the death-bed of Michael Angelo, and writing of him Varchi says: "I discovered, besides incomparable personal beauty, so much charm of nature, such excellent abilities, and such a graceful manner, that he deserved, and still deserves, to be the better loved the more he is known."

Perhaps the most beautiful of all the sonnets is that beginning, "Mentre m'attrista," which is at once a prayer, a hymn, and a benediction:

"'Mid weariness and woe I find some cheer
In thinking of the past when I recall
My weakness and my sins and reckon all
The vain expense of days that disappear;

This cheers by making, ere I die, more clear
The frailty of what men delight miscall;
But saddens me to think how rarely fall
God's grace and mercies in life's latest year.
For though Thy promises our faith compel,
Yet, Lord, what men shall venture to maintain
That pity will condone our long neglect?
Still, from Thy blood poured forth we know full well.
How without measure was Thy martyr's pain,
How measureless the gifts we dare expect."

And this last, which might be called Michael Angelo's farewell to the world, to which he had set a standard in art which none have ever reached since his death, is of pathetic beauty:

"Now hath my life across a stormy sea
Like a frail bark reached that wide port where all
Are bidden ere the final reckoning fall,
Of good or evil for eternity.
Now know I well how that fond phantasy
Which made my soul the worshipper and thrall
Of earthly art is vain; how criminal
Is that which all men seek unwillingly.
Those amorous thoughts which were so lightly dressed,
What are they when the double death is nigh?
The one I know for sure, the other dread.
Painting nor sculpture now can lull to rest
My soul that turns to His great love on high,
Whose arms to clasp us on the cross were spread."

And supreme as he had been in sculpture, great in painting, colossal in architecture, and remarkable amongst the poets of his time, with these thoughts ended Michael Angelo's long life of toil and devotion to the highest forms of art.

CHAPTER IX

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF MICHAEL ANGELO IN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

ACCORDING to the domestic records of the Buonarroti family, Daniele da Volterra made three casts from the head of the dead sculptor, two of which he is supposed to have given to Michael Angelo's nephew Lionardo, keeping the third one himself. It is not improbable that other casts, besides these three, may have been taken, and we may justly believe that all the authentic bronze heads of Michael Angelo—of which eight are known to exist—are replicas from the one death-mask. One of these bronze heads—of life size—stands in the Sindaco's reception hall at the Palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol at Rome, upon a slab of *bigio morato.* It is ascribed, but without any proof, to Michael Angelo himself; and is probably the work of his pupil, Guglielmo della Porta. According to Vasari, however, it was the work of Daniele da Volterra, for after describing the medal made by Leone, Vasari says: "Of Michael Angelo we have no other portrait but two in painting, one by the hand of Bugiardini, and the other by Jacopo del Conte, with one in bronze in full relief [by "full relief" Vasari probably meant a bust] by Daniello Ricciarelli."

The bronze bust of Michael Angelo with drapery on

the shoulder, and with the head bending forward, in the Bargello Museum at Florence, belonged to his servant, Antonio del Franzese, and was probably worked from one of the death-masks. But the most remarkable of these busts of Michael Angelo for its lifelike character is that in the Castello Museum at Milan, modelled by Giuseppe Bossi. Besides these, there is the bust in the Louvre, generally known as the Piot bust of Michael Angelo; the draped bust which forms the centre of the artist's tomb in the church of Santa Croce at Florence; that in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence attributed to the sculptor, Marcello Venusti; and the strikingly lifelike bust, in bronze, presented by Mr. Woodburn to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, of which a photograph has been taken for this book by the kind permission of the curator.

The bust on the master's tomb is carved in marble, and, according to Vasari, was the work of Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, and was taken from the death-mask, "che fu ricavato della maschera di lui dopo la sua morte." The bust at Oxford is probably one of the originals cast by Daniello Ricciarelli. Vasari also states that a medal of Michael Angelo was made by the Cavaliere Leone, the portrait being "very lifelike," and "on the reverse of which and to humour him, he represented a blind man led by a dog, with these words around, 'Docebo iniquos vias tuas, et impii ad te convertentur,' and because the phrase pleased Michael Agnolo greatly, he gave Leone a model in wax by his own hand of *Hercules crushing Antaeus*, with some of his drawings." Many copies were made of this portrait medal, which is in bronze, circular in shape, and two and a quarter inches

in diameter. The signature of the artist, "Leo," appears beneath the bust, and within a beaded edging is the following: "MICHAELANGELUS. BONARROTUS. FLO. R. AES. ANN. 88." On the reverse, also inscribed within a beaded edging, is "DOCEBO INIQUOS VIAS TVAS ET IMPII AD TE CONVERTENTUR," taken from the fifty-first Psalm, the thirteenth verse: "Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee."

There is a unique specimen of this medal in silver in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and an inferior one, in bronze, in the British Museum. A model of the medal, in coloured wax, was given to the latter museum by Mr. Fortnum; it is elaborately modelled, and is a trifle smaller than the original. Although the artist's signature, "Leo," does not appear on the wax model, it is undoubtedly by the same hand. At the back of the wax model the following inscription is written on a piece of paper:

RITRATTO
DI
MICHELANGIOLO
BUONAÑOTI, FATTO,
DAL NATURALE DA
LEONE ARETINO
SUO AMICO

"I am sending to your lordship, by the favour of Lord Carlo Visconti, a great man in this city, and beloved by his Holiness, four medals of your portrait; two in silver, and two in bronze. I should have done so earlier but for my occupation with the monument (of Medeghino), and

[*British Museum*

MEDAL OF MICHAEL ANGELO BY LEONE

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for the certainty I feel that you will excuse my tardiness, if not a sin of ingratitude in me. The one inclosed in the little box has been worked up to the finest polish. I beg you to accept and keep this for the love of me. With the other three you will do as you think best. I say this because ambition has prompted me to send copies into Spain and Flanders, as I have also done to Rome and other places. I call it ambition, forasmuch as I have gained an overplus of benefits by acquiring the goodwill of your lordship, whom I esteem so highly. Have I not received in less than three months two letters written to me by you, divine man; and couched not in terms fit for a servant of good heart and will, but for one beloved as a son? I pray you to go on loving me, and when occasion serves, to favour me; and to Signor Tomao dei Cavalieri say that I shall never be unmindful of him."

From this letter, which is dated 14th March, 1561, and written in Milan, it seems clear that Leone made his medal at Rome in 1560, that it was cast at Milan, and sent to Michael Angelo early in the spring of the following year. And the number of reproductions of this medal in various collections is explained by Leone's own statement that he had sent replicas to other countries. It is believed that Leone's original model of the profile, which he made from life, and from which he made the medallion, is the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum. J. A. Symonds describes it as "an exquisite cameo in flesh-coloured wax upon an oval black ground." It is framed in gilt metal and is glazed, with the Italian inscription quoted above, on the back, which translated, runs "Portrait of Michelangiolo Buonarroti taken from the life, by

Leone Aretino, his friend." "Comparing the relief in wax," says Symonds, "with the medal, we cannot doubt that both represent the same man; and only cavillers will raise the question whether both were fashioned by one hand. Such discrepancies as occur between them are just what we should expect in the work of a craftsman who sought first to obtain an accurate likeness of his subject, and then treated the same subject on the lines of numismatic art. The wax shows a lean and subtly-moulded face—the face of a delicate old man, wiry and worn with years of deep experience. The hair on head and beard is singularly natural; one feels it to be characteristic of the person. Transferring this portrait to bronze necessitated a general broadening of the masses, with a coarsening of the outline to obtain bold relief. Something of the purest truth has been sacrificed to plastic effect by thickening the shrunken throat; and this induced a corresponding enlargement of the occiput for balance."

Another medal of Michael Angelo, closely recalling that of Leone, appears in Litta's great book on the illustrious families of Italy. It has nothing upon the reverse, and is three and one-eighth inches in diameter. A third one, also in bronze, presents the master's face at an earlier period of his life. This is signed with the letters A. S., and bears Michael Angelo's name around it. On the reverse, the three sister Arts are represented at a table, on the sides of which three leaves are intertwined, the device adopted by the great sculptor. Later in life, according to Vasari, he changed these three wreaths into three crowns. The motto, placed at the top, on this medal runs, "Labor omnia Vincit." In the British

Museum there is a medal in lead, on the obverse of which appears Michael Angelo's profile ; whilst on the reverse, placed amidst implements for painting, sculpture and architecture, is a representation of the Tower of the Belvedere. There is also in existence a handsome medal, by Santorelli, of which a bronze-gilt copy is in the British Museum, with bust of the master, in profile, on the obverse: this medal is likewise figured in Litta's book. Finally, there is a smaller medal with Michael Angelo's head in profile, looking to the left.

Among contemporary portraits and engravings of Michael Angelo one of the most authentic is that introduced by his pupil, Daniele da Volterra, into a group of figures of the Apostles, in the foreground of his fresco of *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* in the Chapel of the Crucifix in the Church of the Trinità dei Monti, at Rome. The master appears on the right hand of the spectator, clothed in red, and standing by a column, with outstretched arm. Michael Angelo's head is also introduced into a copy of his own *Last Judgement*, painted by Marcello Venusti, and now in the Museum at Naples: there is an engraving of this portrait in Duppa's life of the master. The life-size portrait of Michael Angelo, full-face, in the Casa Buonarroti, is supposed to have been painted by himself, but neither of those in the Gallery of the Uffizi or in the Capitol at Rome can be ascribed to him. There is a tradition that he sat for his portrait to Giuliano Bugiardini, and that when, at the end of two hours, the artist asked him to look "on his other self on the canvas," Michael Angelo exclaimed, on seeing the representation of himself, "Che diavolo

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF
EXTENSIO

avete fatto? Voi mi avete depinto con uno degli occhi in una tempia."

It is not known what became of this portrait, nor of one painted by Jacopo del Conte.

Of the contemporary engraved portraits of Michael Angelo, there is one, with his head, placed in a circle with a long legend below stating his age to be seventy-two, and dated MDXLVI, which Bartsch says is by Bonasoni, drawing his deduction from the signature "Julu. B. F." This is copied in Harford's "Life of Michael Angelo." There is a powerful engraving of the master, in a plain oval, dated 1545, when he was seventy-one. Besides these there is the three-quarter engraving by Giorgio Ghisi, also in an oval, with a long Latin inscription; it is signed "G. M. F.": Ghisi being called "il Mantuano." This engraving is very rare; but there is a specimen at both the British and Victoria and Albert Museums. Another engraving, with an ornamental oval border, representing Buonarroti in a fur cap, is attributed by Passerini to Ghisi. The engraving, referred to by G. Grau, in which Michael Angelo is represented as wearing a felt hat, is supposed to be the work of Francesco d'Ollanda. In Count Luigi Passerini's work, entitled "La Bibliographia di Michelangelo Buonarrotti," is the following list of engraved portraits of the master belonging to the sixteenth century.

1. By an unknown engraver, in imitation of the one by G. Ghisi, dated 1556.
2. A portrait, engraved by "Lewis G.," after a pen drawing attributed to Baccio Bandinelli.
3. A whole-length of Michael Angelo, seated near a

window, inscribed: "Michael Ang. Bonarotus. Florentinus: Sculptor. Optimus. Anno Aetatis suae 23." [Of this there is a copy in the Print Room at the British Museum.]

4. Michael Angelo in his study surrounded by statues. Inscribed: "A. S. (Antonio Salamanca), 1548." [There is a copy of this very rare engraving in the British Museum.]
5. A full-face, in a fur cap. Dated LXXIV. By Adone de Mantova. This engraving was reprinted by Niccolo Nelli in 1550.
6. A portrait, engraved by Lamberto Susterman, dated 1546. Inscribed: "Michael Angelius Buonarroti: Nobilis: Florentium: Anno Aet. LXXI."

There exists a majolica plate of the sixteenth century, upon which Michael Angelo is represented in half-length, in profile, wearing a wide-awake hat and long cloak. In one hand he holds a handkerchief, the other rests upon his leather belt. Wreaths are placed on either side of the figures: this plate is said to have been copied from a drawing in the Escurial.

On the whole, I think, the most interesting and probably the most lifelike portrait of Michael Angelo, next to the busts at the Louvre, at Milan, and at Oxford, is the oil painting of the great sculptor in an embroidered cloak, now in the Capitol at Rome.

CHAPTER X

THE INFLUENCE OF MICHAEL ANGELO

WITH Michael Angelo died the Renaissance in Italy. His art had been the crown and flower of the most fecund period of European culture since the days of ancient Greece. Michael Angelo cannot be placed in comparison with any other artist, for he stands supreme, high above all, and dwarfing the rest, like some mighty mountain amongst lesser heights. Yet it cannot be denied that, on the whole, the influence of this great genius was harmful to art. It is true that he founded no school, but he had legions of imitators who, as is always the case, exaggerated his faults and caricatured his style; and in the course of time these apings of his manner went from bad to worse until, in the painted ceilings of Verrio and Laguerre, we see the very bathos of a style which, its badness notwithstanding, can be traced to the influence of the great frescoes of *The Last Judgement* and those upon the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

The French critic, Taine, has written that the four men exalted beyond all others to such a degree as to seem to belong to a race above ordinary mortals are Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Michael Angelo. And I think it is not too much praise of this last to say, that of the four he was the most astonishing in grasp of intellect and in actual physical performance, combining as he

did talents that placed him first amongst all painters, sculptors, and architects.

And yet, in reading the story of that crowded existence, how tragic it is to find that, with all his talents, the man himself was one of the saddest and loneliest of mankind. In one of his letters he says that it would have been better for him if he spent his life in making matches instead of statues. There are passages in other letters that read like the lamentations of Job, weary of all earthly things: and yet the man who wrote them was honoured by all his countrymen, princes stood uncovered before him, and the Pope made him sit upon his right hand: the possession of his slightest works was eagerly competed for by kings and princes, but not until life was ebbing from him did Buonarroti seem to find peace, when he turned his thought to his Heavenly Father and to the Divine Compassion which, as he wrote in one of the most beautiful and almost the last of his sonnets, "opens its arms on the Cross to embrace me."

Michael Angelo's colossal figure has been aptly said by a French art writer, Charles Clement, to close the great art movement inaugurated in Italy by Dante and Giotto, and carried on by the Orgagnas, the Brunelleschis and Leonardo da Vinci.

Although surpassed by some of his contemporaries in some of the fields of art in which he laboured, his sombre and tremendous genius marks all his creations. He had no ancestors in his line of art; nor had he descendants, for he was one of those exceptional beings who are beyond rivalry or comparison; of Michael Angelo may be said "prolem sine matre creatam," and with him died the greatest of all geniuses. "My science," the master

once declared, "will create an ignorant rabble of followers," and he is not responsible for those who failed so piteously to imitate and follow in his steps.

Painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, poet and patriot, Michael Angelo takes his place amongst the Dantes, the Brunelleschis, the Raphaels, and the Leonardos; and of them all he is the greatest, the most amazing genius of the modern world.

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF MICHAEL ANGELO

Arranged according to the Galleries in which they are contained

PAINTINGS.

BRITISH ISLES.

NATIONAL GALLERY.

THE ENTOMBMENT OF OUR LORD. Unfinished. 5 ft. 3 in. × 4 ft. 11 in. [790.] (See p. 60.)

THE MADONNA AND INFANT CHRIST, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS. 3 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 6 in. [809.] (See p. 59.)

A DREAM OF HUMAN LIFE. Painted from a design by Michael Angelo by one of his scholars. 2 ft. 1 in. × 1 ft. 9 in. [8.] (See p. 74.)

HOLKHAM HALL.

Copy in grisaille of the celebrated Cartoon of Pisa, which was never finished, and was eventually destroyed and the fragments scattered. From this copy the engraving of Schiavonetti was made. (See pp. 16, 17.)

ROYAL ACADEMY.

Very fine copy of the Cartoon of the Leda. (See p. 72.)

ITALY.

FLORENCE.—UFFIZI GALLERY.

THE HOLY FAMILY. A *tondo.* [1139.] Painted for Angelo Doni in 1504. (See p. 60.)

FLORENCE.—PITTI PALACE.

THE THREE FATES. (See p. 74.)

ROME.

The fresco paintings in the vault of the Sistine Chapel, with the genealogy of the Virgin in the spandrels above the windows, the historical subjects in the corner soffits of the ceiling, and the Prophets and Sibyls in the niches round the vault. 133 ft. × 43 ft. (See pp. 61-67.)

THE LAST JUDGEMENT. Fresco in the Sistine Chapel. 47 ft. × 43 ft. (See pp. 67-71.)

Two frescoes in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican: THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL and THE CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER. (See pp. 71, 72.)

DRAWINGS AND SCULPTURE.

BRITISH ISLES.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Numerous Drawings.

BURLINGTON HOUSE—DIPLOMA GALLERY.

MADONNA AND CHILD. Unfinished medallion. (See p. 15.)

CHATSWORTH.

Many original Drawings.

UNIVERSITY GALLERIES, OXFORD.

79 original Drawings.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

Drawings.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

LIFE-SIZE FIGURE OF CUPID. [7560.] Gigli Campana Collection. (See p. 47.)

SKELETON OR ANATOMICAL STUDY. Model in red wax. 17 in. Gherardini Collection. [4114.]

FIVE ANATOMICAL MODELS IN WAX OF ARMS AND LEGS. [4109-4113.]

ORIGINAL MODEL IN WAX FOR DAVID. 3¾ in. [4106.]

MODEL IN WAX FOR A SLAVE. 6 in. [4117.]

MODEL IN WAX FOR HERCULES SLAYING CACUS. 14 in. [4108.]

MASK IN TERRA-COTTA. 3 in. [4107.] (See p. 49.)

MODEL IN RED WAX FOR THE YOUNG APOLLO. 9 in. [4116.]

UNFINISHED STATUE OF ST. SEBASTIAN IN MARBLE. 36 in. [7561.] (See p. 49.)

MODEL IN BLACK WAX OF A TORSO. 13½ in. [4105.]

MODEL IN TERRA-COTTA OF A COLOSSAL LEFT HAND. 9 in. [4104.]

WINDSOR CASTLE.

Many Drawings.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND.

MODEL IN WAX OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI. 22 in.

MODEL IN WAX OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI. 22 in.

MODEL IN WAX OF MADONNA AND CHILD. 26 in.

All presented by Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart. (See p. 49.)

FRANCE.

THE LOUVRE.

TWO COLOSSAL FIGURES OF THE SLAVES IN MARBLE. [1505.] (See p. 51.)

Many Drawings.

LILLE.

Many original Drawings.

BELGIUM.

BRUGES.—THE CATHEDRAL.

MARBLE GROUP OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD. (See p. 48.)

ITALY.

FLORENCE.—THE DUOMO.

THE UNFINISHED PIETÀ. (See pp. 55, 56.)

FLORENCE.—BARGELLO GALLERY.

ADONIS DYING. [15.] (See p. 50.)

VICTORIA. [18.] (See p. 50.)

BRUTUS. [111.] (See p. 55.)

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN. [123.] Bas-relief. [1501-1505.] (See p. 14.)

THE APOLLINO. [124.] (See p. 55.)

THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS.

BACCHUS. [128.] (See p. 47.)

DAVID. [224.]

FLORENCE.—CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO.

THE TOMBS OF THE MEDICI. (See pp. 30-32, 52-54.)

DAY AND NIGHT.

DAWN AND TWILIGHT.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD. Unfinished.

THE CANDELABRUM.

THE HIGH ALTAR.

FLORENCE.—THE ACCADEMIA.

THE COLOSSAL DAVID. [1504.] (See pp. 48, 49.)

THE PIETÀ.

MADONNA AND CHILD.

ST. MATTHEW. (See p. 48.)

FLORENCE.—CASA BUONARROTI.

THE BATTLE OF THE CENTAURS AND LAPITHAE. (See pp. 42, 46.)

MODEL OF THE DAVID IN TERRA-COTTA. (See p. 42.)

MADONNA AND CHILD. Bas-relief. (See pp. 42, 46.)

BOLOGNA.—CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO.

ANGEL BEARING A CANDLESTICK. [1495.] (See p. 9.)

STATUE OF SAN PETRONIO. (See p. 9.)

MANTUA.—THE LICEO.

FIGURE OF CUPID.

GENOA.—ALBERGO DEI POVERI.

MARBLE MEDALLION. (See p. 56.)

ROME.—SAN PIETRO IN VINCOLI.

THE MONUMENT OF JULIUS II., including the Figure of MOSES. (See pp. 17-27, 50, 51.)

ROME.—PALAZZO RONDININI.

UNFINISHED PIETÀ. [1535.]

ROME.—ST. PETER'S.

THE PIETÀ IN THE CAPPELLA DELLA PIETÀ. (See pp. 47, 48.)

ROME.—SANTA MARIA SOPRA MINERVA.

FIGURE OF CHRIST TRIUMPHANT. [1521.] (See pp. 54, 55.)

PALESTRINA.—PALAZZO BARBERINI.

AN UNFINISHED PIETÀ.

NAPLES.—MUSEUM.

COLOSSAL MARBLE BUST OF POPE PAUL.

DRAWINGS BY MICHAEL ANGELO IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1. A slight sketch, in pen and bistre, of the lower part of the tomb of Julius II., but without figures in the niches. Below the sketch seven lines of manuscript in Michael Angelo's handwriting. On the reverse of the sheet are given the forms of the blocks of marble, with their measurements and intended uses.

   From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

2. Two figures very slightly sketched, pen drawing in bistre, evidently intended to be executed in marble, for the measurements necessary for blocking out of the work are marked in both cases. The figure to the right seems to be a female in a kneeling position, with the arms raised and encircling the head. That to the left is a reclining figure, with upraised arms hiding the face.

   From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

3. A sheet of miscellaneous studies for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, with two sketches of hands, an arm cut above the joint, and the inner bend of an elbow. On the right is a study for one of the pendentives, a seated figure with an open book upon its knees. The hands and arms are in black chalk; the rest of the design is in pen and bistre.

   From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

   These sketches and studies seem to have been intended

for that portion of the ceiling on which the figure of Daniel was subsequently painted.

4. Study of two male figures being crucified, in pen and bistre; the figure on the right shows unmistakeably the agony of the punishment. The posture of the second figure is that of a dead man. These two figures are early studies for the death of Haman in *The Last Judgement.*

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

Also a finished drawing in red chalk of the subject as finally carried out.

5. A sheet of studies in pen and bistre of male figures, in three sketches, for an angle of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, in which Noah appears offering sacrifice before entering the Ark.

On the reverse of the sheet the torso of a man in black chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

6. Study for a nude male figure in a recumbent position; the face almost in right profile, in red chalk.

From the R. Payne-Knight Collection.

7. A sheet of four studies for Renaissance windows for the Laurentian Library at Florence, in pen and bistre, designed by Michael Angelo in 1525, and submitted to Pope Clement VII., who "was pleased with them, and he thought that the circular windows would be handsome."

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

8. Two sketches in pen and bistre for the Medici tombs. The upper part of the design consists of a central niche for one seated figure, with an arched pediment and panelled frieze. On each side of the niche is a statue enclosed by pilasters, with a circular tablet overhead.

Below is a band of panelling ornamented with festoons and tablets. At the foot are two sarcophagi, placed end to end.

On the reverse is another sketch of the tomb, in which each sarcophagus has the statue of its inmate placed above it.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

There is a sketch by Michael Angelo in the Albertina Museum at Vienna which is apparently one of his designs for this tomb. Mr. Wilson says: "A scale being applied, based upon the proportions of the figures, it was at once evident that it was too large for any space in the Chapel, corresponding with the acute practical remark made by Clement in his criticism. The figures were of different sizes, two measuring seven feet in height being squeezed into spaces less than two feet wide. Others on the cornice, nearly thirty feet from the ground, are two feet shorter than those below and near the eye. The order of architecture in this drawing is entirely out of proportion."

9. A sheet of slight sketches in black chalk of details for the same monument, with the study of a woman's head on the reverse side of the sheet.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

10. Another study for the Medici Monument, showing a general arrangement similar to the one finally carried out. The altar and the basement are more important than in the sculptured work, in which the principal storey is nearly the same height as the other two combined. At the foot of the tomb in this sketch are two recumbent figures; the sarcophagus above them is very similar to the one at San Lorenzo; with the figures of Morning and Evening indicated on the lid. The main storey is shown almost as it now exists, the difference in the sketch being the broader

proportions of the central recess, the absence of consoles beneath arched pediments of the side recesses, and the introduction of festoons above these pediments. The top storey is very important, there being an elaborate trophy of arms in the central division with festoons in the side divisions. A globe is placed above the space dividing the central division from that on the right. It is in black chalk and bistre. On the reverse are various studies and manuscript notes.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

11. Another sheet with two slight studies of the Medici tomb, in black chalk, chiefly decorative.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

12. A sheet of seven monumentary studies for the same tomb, of recesses, entablatures, columns in black chalk and ink. On the back of the paper a study of drapery for a seated figure.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

13. *The Madonna and Child*, in black chalk, probably an early study for the marble statue now in the sacristy at San Lorenzo. Both figures are nude; the Virgin has a covering upon her head.

From the Mariette, Lagoy, and R. Payne-Knight Collections.

14. Studies of several nude male figures, in black chalk, for *The Last Judgement*: in the lower corner is a beautiful drawing of the back of a right hand.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased at the sale of the latter in June, 1860.

15. A sheet of studies for *The Last Judgement*, with a sketch

of *The Virgin and Child* and groups of nude male figures. On the back a whole-length study of a nude female figure, in an attitude resembling that of Adam in *The Creation of Eve* on the Sistine ceiling. These sketches are all in black chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

16. A sheet with four studies of different parts of the human body in ink and red chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

17. A sheet of studies for capitals for the Farnese Palace, in red chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

18. A sheet of four richly-foliated Renaissance capitals, and five details of bases, in pen and bistre.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

19. A roughly-drawn quasi-Ionic capital, with other architectural studies, and suggesting search for new designs; in red chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

20. Portion of a Doric entablature in red chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

21. A sheet of figure studies of soldiers for *The Conversion of St. Paul*, painted on the left wall of the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican, in black and red chalk. The sheet is formed of two pieces of paper pasted together, the figures in the upper division being at right angles to those below. On the reverse is a figure in black chalk of what is supposed to be the Saviour, in flowing robes, with the right arm extended; there are also some cherubs and an old man kneeling. In the lower part of the sheet are five figures—two appear to be running in great haste; between them a

third figure has been left unfinished. Below these is a prostrate figure, and to the right a headless figure of a standing man. These are in black chalk.

This drawing was purchased at Messrs. Christie and Manson's in 1861. *It formed part of the Woodburn Collection sold in* 1860.

22. A sheet of studies with four sketches of the *Madonna and Child*, with a manuscript note at the side, and on the back a statement of certain payments made by the artist. The first sketch, which is upside down, represents the Virgin, semi-nude and supporting a nude Infant, full-face, seen to the knees. This is in pen and bistre. On the left is a similar design, faintly drawn in red chalk. The third sketch shows the Virgin seated, the naked Child in her arms. This group is squared as if intended to be enlarged. On the right is another sketch of the same group, but outlined only in red chalk. Below this is written in Italian, "Draw, Anthony, draw, Anthony, draw and lose no time."

This Antonio was the son of Bernardino Mini, and at the age of sixteen was placed under Michael Angelo, who taught him modelling and drawing. He formed an attachment which was opposed by his uncle, and on the advice of Michael Angelo he left Florence for France in 1531, taking with him a picture of *Leda and the Swan*, a cartoon and many drawings by Buonarroti. This *Leda* eventually became the property of Francis I., and was burnt by Des Noyers in the reign of Louis XIII.

The notes on the back of the sheet refer to payments to the sandman who brought sand to the Church of San Lorenzo for sawing the marble—34 soldi for 34 loads of sand; for nails to Bernardino Basso for fixing "certain semicircular frames for placing over the models in San Lorenzo"; for iron wire for the models "which I am exe-

cuting for the tombs in San Lorenzo"; for string; and finally nine soldi and one quattrino "for the models of the figures in San Lorenzo." This sketch, which is in pen and bistre, was executed in 1524.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

23. The Madonna, Infant Christ and St. John. A splendid example of drawing in the attitude of the Virgin, as she watches the two children. It was drawn in 1524, in black chalk.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, and Woodburn Collections. This drawing was shown at the Lawrence Exhibition in 1836. *Purchased at the Woodburn Sale in* 1860.

24. Study of a whole-length female figure, in black chalk, supporting a nude child. The head and arms seem too small for the lower part of the female figure.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

25. A study of a group of five whole-length figures representing the Virgin and others at the foot of the Cross, in black chalk. It was shown at the Lawrence Exhibition.

From the Count von Fries, Lawrence, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased at the Woodburn Sale, 1860.

26. Study for the figure of Lazarus in the picture by Sebastiano del Piombo, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, painted for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII., and below three slight sketches of feet. In red chalk.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, King of Holland, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased in 1860.

27. Another study, also in red chalk, of the same figure, with two other figures helping to remove the grave-clothes.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, King of Holland, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased in 1860.

28. A series of four sketches, in black chalk, of the expulsion of the money-changers from the Temple.

29. Another sketch, very similar to the above, but with figures almost double the size, in black chalk.

30. Another sketch, resembling the two foregoing, in black chalk. It was from this design that Marcello Venusti painted the picture of the money-changers being expelled from the Temple, with the figures a little more than four inches high. This picture was sold at the Hamilton Sale.

These three drawings were in the Lawrence, King of Holland, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased at the Woodburn Sale in 1860.

31. A study of the crucifixion on Mount Calvary, in red chalk, drawn between 1511 and 1520. The composition is remarkable for the height of the crosses. The attitude of the Christ shows resignation; that of the two thieves, physical pain.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased at the Woodburn Sale, 1860.

There is a study at Oxford of a portion of this same subject, the principal group being the Virgin swooning. Daniele da Volterra reproduced this group in his *Deposition*, now in the Church of the Trinità dei Monti at Rome.

32. A slight drawing of the Saviour on the Cross, the feet placed one upon the other. Drawn in red chalk about 1510.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

33. A study for *The Resurrection.* The Saviour is ascending into the air; from his back falls a sheet. Soldiers are grouped about the tomb in various attitudes of fear and

amazement. Drawn in black chalk between 1518 and 1520.

From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Woodburn Collections. Purchased at the Woodburn Sale, 1860.

There are four other studies of this subject—two at Windsor, one at the Louvre, and one in the British Museum Collection. In the first, Christ, who is represented larger than the other figures, is in the act of stepping from the tomb; and also in the second, although here the action is more energetic. The third, at the Louvre, resembles the first, except that a kneeling man with bowed head is introduced. The fourth is a highly finished study in black chalk of Christ alone. It was formerly in the Malcolm Collection.

34. Sketch of the upper part of a seated female figure to below the waist, in pen and red chalk; clad in raiment that looks like armour. On the left, a nude male figure. On the reverse side of the sheet, in black chalk, is another female figure, with the hair confined by a folded head-dress. The dress has standing frills on shoulders, and is an Italian local costume.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

35. Sketch of a female figure, seated, and turned in profile to the right, in black chalk. The hair streams over the shoulders, and in the right hand is a distaff.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

These two sketches are supposed to be portraits.

36. A sheet with three grotesque heads, drawn in red chalk between 1520 to 1534. Suggestive of Pan. At the bottom of the paper is a slight sketch of two men wrestling. On the reverse of the sheet are two male figures facing one another.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

37. A study in pen and bistre of two men holding up a third man with their hands; one figure has wings. To the left of this group is the Virgin, nude, seated, with the child between her knees. On the back of the sheet is the drawing of an inverted leg, in pen and bistre, and in black chalk a study for the group of three men on the other side.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

There is a more finished drawing of this group of three men at the Louvre; they are considered to be sketches of acrobats.

38. Two partial studies of male figures. A nude man, whole length, the head and feet being cut by the edge of the paper. On the reverse, a torso and portion of the thigh of a half-reclining muscular man. These are all in black chalk.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

39. A sketch of a nude figure, in red chalk, slightly stooping. The right arm raised and only partly visible; the head thrown forward and the face in profile; the left leg stretched out at right angles to the body, the calf touching the under part of the thigh. The right leg bent in a natural and downward position. It is supposed to be a pasticcio on the *Torso Farnese*. "Michael Angelo," says Fagan, "even in his old age, was in the habit of making such studies." Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom this drawing once belonged, wrote on the back of it: "Michel' Angelo, Study for Restoring the Torso."

From the Lely, Reynolds, and Avedale-Price Collections. Purchased at the Avedale-Price Sale, 1854.

40. Trunk, arms, hands and thighs of a male figure, seen almost full face, a short sword in the right hand; in black chalk. On the reverse a male torso.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

41. Two male torsos, one carefully drawn, the other rudimentary; in black chalk.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

42. A small piece of paper, with a male torso slightly twisted. At right angles to this a fragmentary head; below, a two-handled vase. These designs are in black chalk, but the torso is in pen and bistre. On three sides of the paper, and on the reverse, there are indistinct fragments of notes in Michael Angelo's handwriting.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

43. Slight study for a nude male figure, in a stooping attitude; in black chalk.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

44. Sketch of a man's right leg, with the words "in fuor"; in pen and bistre. On the reverse is the sketch of the trunk of a man, in black chalk.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

45. Slight sketch of a man's left leg, and also a foot; in red chalk.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

46. Study of a man's right arm, raised from the elbow, the hand open, but only the thumb and forefinger indicated; in black chalk. This was in the Samuel Rogers Collection, at whose sale it was marked: "Fuseli: a sketch." With this was another sketch, but as upon this there was a sonnet in the handwriting of Michael Angelo it was transferred to the MSS. department of the Museum in 1857.

47. Sketch of a man's left shoulder and arm, the latter drawn back and bent to its utmost. The muscles are very distinctly marked; in pen and bistre.
From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

48. Sketch of a nude female figure, in black chalk, with the

left arm sketched in two positions, one extended, the other by her side.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

49. Double study, showing back and front view of a female torso, on two separate sheets, resembling in a great degree the marble torso of the Venus in the British Museum, in black chalk. Drawn about 1500. There is a sheet in the University galleries at Oxford containing three separate studies in pen and bistre, probably from the same model as this drawing. There are also two others in black chalk at the Casa Buonarroti at Florence.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

50. An elevation for a building planned upon a semi-octagon, the central face pierced with an arch or niche. On the right of the sheet a ground-plan for the building, and a rudimentary sketch for the same plan at the bottom of the paper. Drawn between 1520 and 1534.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

51. A slight sketch of Venus and Cupid in pen and bistre, drawn about 1520. This is probably the first idea for the cartoon in the National Museum at Naples.

From the Buonarroti Collection. Purchased in 1859.

52. A nude male figure, seated, with averted face, in pen and wash. This was purchased at the Woodburn Sale in 1854, and described in the Sale catalogue as a drawing by Donatello.

53. Figure of an old man, whole length, with a long beard, and wearing a cap and flowing robe; in black chalk.

From the R. Payne-Knight Collection.

54. Study of a nude man attempting to break a stick across his knee; in red chalk.

From the R. Payne-Knight Collection.

PRINCIPAL DRAWINGS BY MICHAEL ANGELO ACQUIRED FOR THE BRITISH MUSEUM SINCE 1880

Figure of a bather surprised, for the cartoon of the Battle of Pisa; pen and bistre. The trunk of the body has been re-worked and lights added in white. This figure is reproduced in Marcantonio's well-known engraving. Drawn in 1504.

Presented by Henry Vaughan. From the Lawrence Collection.

1887. 5-2-116.

Study for the Prophet Isaiah in the fresco of the Sistine Chapel; pen and bistre. The attitude of the figures differs greatly from that finally adopted.

Presented by Henry Vaughan.

1887. 5-2-115.

(*Obverse.*) Study for figure of a young man with arm outstretched; pen and bistre. Probably a reminiscence of one of the two colossal statues of young men on Monte Cavallo, Rome. Drawn about 1502 or 1503.

(*Reverse.*) Eight studies for the figure of a child. Identified in a later handwriting (no doubt correctly) as for the *Madonna and Child* executed in marble by the artist about 1503, and now in Notre Dame at Bruges.

Presented by Henry Vaughan. From the Lawrence Collection.

1887. 5-2-117.

Study for a design of the Resurrection of Christ; black chalk. One of a number of similar designs made by Michael Angelo during part of his residence in Rome (about 1535-1550).

Presented by Henry Vaughan. From the Lawrence Collection.

1887. 5-2-119.

Study of drapery for a seated figure; pen and bistre wash.

Presented by Henry Vaughan.

1887. 5-2-118.

(*Obverse.*) Study for a figure in the fresco of *The Last Judgement*; black chalk. Back view of a man raising himself from the ground on his hands.

(*Reverse.*) Sheet of studies for figures in *The Last Judgement*; black chalk.

From the Wellesley and Palgrave Collections.

1886. 5-13-5.

Lamentation of the Virgin and disciples over the body of Christ; black chalk.

From the Warwick Collection.

1896. 7-10-1.

Study for a figure of the Virgin Mary; black chalk. In the master's late manner. The figure was used in a picture painted from his design by Marcello Venusti.

Presented by the representatives of Dr. Radford. From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.

1900. 6-11-1.

MALCOLM COLLECTION

PURCHASED 1895

(*Obverse.*) Standing figure of a prophet; pen and bistre. Finished drawing.

(*Reverse.*) Study of a head and hand, apparently for the Adam in the fresco of the Sistine Chapel; black chalk. In the design as carried out (1507) the head of Adam is turned the other way.

Malcolm, No. 61. *From the Lempereur, Constantine, Dimsdale, and Lawrence Collections.*

Studies for the figure of Haman in the fresco of the Sistine Chapel; red chalk. Elaborately modelled. An almost identical drawing is at Windsor.

Malcolm, No. 60. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.*

Study for a figure of Christ ascending, in a composition of the Resurrection; black chalk. About 1520-1525.

Malcolm, No. 64. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.*

Sketch for a composition of the Scourging of Christ; red chalk. Study for the fresco painted by Sebastiano del Piombo from Michael Angelo's designs in S. Pietro Montorio, Rome.

Malcolm, No. 63. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, and King of Holland Collections.*

Christ on the Cross, with head turned upward; black chalk. This and the two following are drawings for a subject undertaken for Vittoria Colonna. This study is perhaps the one alluded to by Condivi as having been sent to her by the master.

Malcolm, No. 67. *From the King of Naples, Brunet, King of Holland, and Lawrence Collections.*

The Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John; black chalk, touched with white. The cross is Y-shaped; the Virgin and St. John stand on each side.

Malcolm, No. 72. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence, and King of Holland Collections.*

The Crucifixion; black chalk. A sketch of the same period, but differently treated. The Virgin embraces the legs of Christ.

Malcolm, No. 73. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.*

Study for the head of St. Bartholomew in the Last Judgement; black chalk.

Malcolm, No. 74. *From the Ottley and Lawrence Collections.*

Sketch for an Annunciation; black chalk. A late drawing. The Virgin, seated, listens to the angel who hovers near her.

Malcolm, No. 78. *From the Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence Collections.*

The Fall of Phaethon: with a MS. note addressed to Tommaso Cavalieri; black chalk. The composition, for which this is a first design, is well known from the engraving by N. Beatrizet; another version is at Windsor.

Malcolm, No. 79. *From the Crozat, Mariette, Lagoy, Dimsdale, Lawrence, and Galichon Collections.*

INDEX

Adonis dying, 50.
Agnolo, Baccio d', 10.
Architecture, the, of Michael Angelo, 75-80.

Bacchus, 11, 47.
Baglioni, Malatesta, 34.
Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithae, 7, 42, 46.
Bertoldo, influence of, on Michael Angelo, 6.
Bologna, Michael Angelo's work at, 9, 23, 24.
Bossi, Giuseppe, bust of Michael Angelo by, 97.
Bramante, 21, 77.
Brutus, 55.
Bugiardini, Giuliano, 7; painting of *The Martyrdom of St. Catharine* by, 73; portrait of Michael Angelo by, 96, 101.
Buonarroti, the name of, 2.
—— Lionardo, nephew of the artist, 90.
—— Michael Angelo, son of Lionardo, editor of Michael Angelo's poems, 90.

Calcagni, Tiberio, 55.
Canossa, the family of, 2, 3.
Carrara, Michael Angelo at, 21.
Cavalieri, Tommaso, poems addressed to, 94.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 7, 37.
Christ Triumphant, 54, 55.
Clement VII., Pope, 34; death of, 35.
Colonna, Stefano, 34.
—— Vittoria, friendship between Michael Angelo and, 34, 35; account of, 35.
Conversion of St. Paul, The (fresco), 36, 37, 71, 72.
Cosimo I., Duke, 37.
Credi, Lorenzo di, 7.
Crucifixion of St. Peter, The (fresco), 36, 37, 71, 72.
Cupid, Kneeling, 11, 47.

Dante, Michael Angelo and, 30.
David, 12-14, 48.
Donatello, 45, 46.
Doni *Madonna*, the, 16, 60.
Drawings by Michael Angelo, 81-89.

Florence, drawings by Michael Angelo in the Uffizi, 83.
—— Casa Buonarroti, 41.
—— Laurentian Library, 79.
—— Palazzo Medici, decoration of the, 17.

Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, decoration of the, 9, 10.
—— San Lorenzo, Michael Angelo and the façade of, 28, 29; the tombs in the Sacristy of, 30.
—— siege of, 33, 34.
Franzese, Antonio del, 97.
Francis I. of France, 8, 12, 72.

Galli, Jacopo, 11, 48.
Garnier, Charles, on Michael Angelo's architecture, 75, 76.
Ghirlandajo, Domenico, Michael Angelo a pupil of, 4, 5, 45; death of, 4.
Granacci, Francesco, 5.

Holkham, cartoon at, 17.

Julius II., Pope, story of the tomb of, 17-27; death of, 24.

Last Judgement, The, 35, 36, 67-71.
Lawrence, Sir Thomas, his collection of Michael Angelo's drawings, 82, 86, 87.
Leo X., Pope, 28, 29.
Leonardo da Vinci, 10, 13, 17.
Leone, Cavaliere, medal of Michael Angelo by, 97-99.
Lille, drawings by Michael Angelo at, 83.
Lippi, Filippino, 13, 41.
London, British Museum, 72, 73, 84.
—— Victoria and Albert Museum, 11, 47-49.

Maderno, St. Peter's completed by, 77.
Medici, Giuliano de', 28; tomb of, 30.
Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Magnificent), befriends Michael Angelo, 4, 5, 6, 45; death of, 8.
—— Lorenzo de', tomb of, 30, 31.
—— Piero de', 9.
—— tombs of the, 30-32, 52-54.
Michael Angelo, birth and early years of, 2 *et seq.*; in Ghirlandajo's studio, 4; in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici, 4-6, 45; earliest works in marble, 6, 7; studies anatomy, 8, 46; goes to Bologna, 9; first visit to Rome, 10; the *Pietà*, 11, 12; visit to Siena, 12; the *David*, 12-14; the Doni *Madonna*, 16; the *Cartoon of Pisa*, 17; invited to Rome by Pope Julius II., 18; story of the tomb of Julius II., 18-27; the sacristy of San Lorenzo, 28-32; appointed Inspector-General of Fortifications, 32, 33; secret flight to Venice, 33; his energy during the siege of Florence, 33, 34; goes to Rome, 34; friendship with Vittoria Colonna, 34; *The Last Judgement*, 35, 36; the Farnese Palace, 36; appointed architect to the Pope, and architect-in-chief of St. Peter's, 37, 77; death of, 39; Condivi's account of his appearance, 39-40; his coffin thrice opened, 41; his sculpture, 43-57; his paintings, 58-72; his limitations as a painter, 58; the Sistine Chapel, 61-70; his painting of the nude body, 61, 65, 70-81; paintings from the designs of, 72-74; architecture of, 75-80; drawings of, 81-89; greatness of his drawings, 82-84; his poetry, 90-95; portraits of, 96-102; contemporary engraved por

traits of, 102, 103; influence of, 104.
Montelupo, Baccio da, 7.
Montelupo, Raffaello da, 26, 32.
Montorsoli, Fra Giovanni Angiolo dei, Michael Angelo's assistant, 32.
Moses, 50, 51.

Oxford, drawings of Michael Angelo at, 84, 86-89.

Paris, Louvre, Michael Angelo's drawings in the, 82.
Paul II., Pope, 26.
Paul III., Pope, 35, 36, 37, 70, 78.
Pietà (St. Peter's), 11, 12, 47, 48; (Florence), 55, 56.
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 29, 73; paintings by, 73.
Poliziano, Angelo, 6.
Pontormo, copies of paintings by Michael Angelo by, 72, 73.
Porta, Giacomo della, 76, 79.
—— Guglielmo della, 96.

Riario, Cardinal, 10.
Ricciarelli, Daniello. *See* Volterra, Daniele da.
Rome, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, 28, 35, 36, 61-67; the Farnese Palace, 36; St. Peter's, the dome of, 77, 78; Michael Angelo's other buildings in, 78, 79.
Rustici, 7.

St. Matthew, 14, 48.
St. John the Baptist, 47.
San Gallo, Antonio di, 10, 29, 37.
Sansovino, Andrea, 7, 29.
Savonarola, 9, 46, 47.
Siena, Michael Angelo at, 12.
Simoni, Ludovico, father of Michael Angelo, 2, 3, 4.
Slaves, The, 21, 51.
Soderini, Piero, 14, 17.
Strozzi, Giovan Battista, 52.
Symonds, J. A., 16; his translation of the Sonnets, 91.

Taddei, Taddeo, 15.
Three Fates, The, 74.
Torrigiano, attack on Michael Angelo by, 7, 40.

Urbino, Michael Angelo's servant, 26, 36, 38, 54; letter of Michael Angelo after the death of, 38.

Vari, Metello, 54.
Vasari, letters of Michael Angelo to, 38, 78; Michael Angelo's tomb designed by, 39.
Venusti, Marcello, portraits of Michael Angelo by, 42, 101; paintings by, 73; bust of Michael Angelo by, 97.
Victoria, 50.
Volterra, Daniele da, bronze bust of Michael Angelo by, 42; employed to add drapery to Michael Angelo's nudes, 70; casts from Michael Angelo's head made by, 96; portrait of Michael Angelo in the *Assumption of the Virgin* by, 101.

Watts, G.F., R.A., 15.

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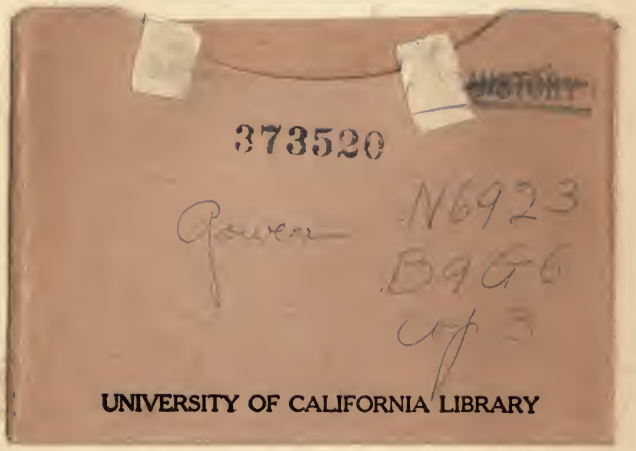
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